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Bufi Receives Eyptian Deputy Foreign Minister

AU1707192391 Tirana ATA in English 0953 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 17 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi, received on July 17, at the prime minister's office, the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, headed by its deputy minister, Mokless Khobba [name as received], and had a warm talk with the members of the delegation.

Premier Ylli Bufi voiced his satisfaction over the constant exchange of visits between the personalities of the two countries, which serves the development of bilateral relations. He spoke of the situation in our country, of the economic and political reforms launched to ensure the irreversible transition to a democratic state and to the market economy. In the context of the democratization process, we, he said, consider indispensable the development of an active diplomacy towards all the countries of the world and he dissociated himself from the previous self-isolation.

The deputy foreign minister of Egypt, Mokless Khobba, expressed thanks for the warm reception and described bilateral relations as good. He conveyed to the Albanian premier the greetings of the premier of Egypt.

Premier Ylli Bufi, on his part, asked the Egyptian high official to extend to the premier of the Arab Republic of Egypt the invitation to visit Albania.

The meeting also discussed possibilities for bilateral relations, especially in the economic field, as well as the developments in Yugoslavia, the Balkans, the Middle East, etc.

Deputy Foreign Minister Ilir Bocka and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the Republic of Albania, Manzour el Daly were also present at the meeting.

The meeting took place in a warm atmosphere.

Kapllani Meets Delegation

AU1707192591 Tirana ATA in English 1708 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 17 (ATA) — On July 16, Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani received the delegation of the foreign ministry of Egypt headed by its Deputy Foreign Minister Mokless Khobba [name as received] and had a warm and friendly talk with it. The focus of the conversation was relations between our two countries and the possibilities for their further development. Muhamet Kapllani briefed the Egyptian friend on the continuing process of democratization in our country, the difficulties our country is faced with and the endeavours to overcome them. He reiterated the desire of the Albanian Government for the further development of cooperation between our two countries in various fields of common interest, particularly in the economic and trade fields, so that they respond to the traditional good and friendly political relations.

The Egyptian deputy foreign minister praised the traditional friendly relations existing between our two countries and peoples and said that he supports their development in different fields including the political, economic, cultural fields, etc. He repeated the invitation by the Egyptian counterpart to our foreign minister for a visit to Egypt soon.

In the meeting they exchanged views on different problems of the international situation, the situation in the Balkans, Yugoslavia, the Middle East, etc .

The deputy minister of foreign affairs of Egypt was received in separate meetings by the minister of education, Maqo Lakrori, and the minister for foreign economic relations, Ylli Cabiri.

ATA 17 Jul Press Review of Tirana Newspapers

AU1707154591 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 17 (ATA)—The press reports on the signing of an agreement between the Albanian General Directorate for Oil and Gas and the U.S. firm Occidental Petroleum. It is likewise reported that the foreign minister of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, received, on July 16, the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, headed by the deputy minister, Mokless Khobba.

Under the title,"The Steps of Democratization in Albania Are Welcomed", the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries in today's issue the report that the chairman of the presidency of the People's Assembly, Dr. Kastriot Islami, presented to the People's Assembly regarding the recent visit of the Albanian parliamentary delegation to Austria, the Soviet Union, and Hungary. Under the title: "The People Freely Express Their Viewpoints", the newspaper carries an article on the interview of Father Arthur Liolin with the Voice of America, following his latest visit to Albania, as well as an article commemorating the 90th anniversary of the founding of the patriotic cultural association, Agimi, in Shkoder.

Under the title: "Unilateral and Wrong Acts", the newspaper BASHKIMI carries the announcement of the spokesman of the Albanian Ministry of Transports regarding the problem of flights of the ADA company plane. It also carries a report by Arshi Rucaj regarding the meeting of the foreign ministers of Italy, Albania, Yugoslavia, and Greece in Ancona. Under the title: "The U.S. Senate Demands Kosovo's and Vojvodina's Self-Determination", the same newspaper carries in a prominent place the text of the resolution of the U.S. Senate on Yugoslavia.

Under the title: "We Are a Nation, Hence We Should Be Recognized by the Whole World", the newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE carries the interview of Mr. Nevzat Halili, head of the Party for Democratic

Prosperity of Macedonia, with the reporter of this newspaper, Xhevat Mustafa. In the context of the contributions in the People's Assembly on the land bill, RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE carries the article by the deputy Gezim Luli entitled: "The New Law on the Land Should Be Based on a Sound Foundation". It also carries the political note by Bashkim Trenova entitled: "The U.S. Senate Supports the Right of Kosovo to Self-Determination".

The newspaper ZERI I RINISE continues to carry excerpts of the novel by Eric Segal "Love Story". Along with various brief items, it reports on the approval of the association: "The Youth and the Islamic Culture".

The newspapers carry the message which the presidency of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo and of the Peasant's Party of Kosovo have sent to the presidency of the SFRY and the Federal Executive Council regarding a grave terroristic provocation in the village of Zhegovc in the vicinity of Gjilan where a jet dropped two bombs in the vicinity of the village.

Transport Ministry on Illegal Airline Activity

AU1707165591 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 17 (ATA) — With regard to the problem of flights of the aircraft of the ADA company, the spokesman of the Ministry of Transportation makes the following announcement:

1. The ADA company has requested to be allowed to create a joint airlines, for carrying out flights on a regular air route, although the main purpose for its creation, approved by the Council of Ministers, was to open up and operate duty-free shops in Albania.

The Ministry of Transportation approved ADA's cooperation with Albtransport and with the ministry in defining concrete measures for organising this transport.

2. After receiving this reply, instead of cooperating with Albtransport to define the modalities and regulations for beginning the flights, it carried out a series of unilateral and erroneous actions, which run counter to our legislation in force and to international agreements, in the following main areas:

A. In contrast to its initial demands, ADA started to advertise itself as "The First Albanian Private Airlines", calling itself "Adalbanair". By this action, in fact, ADA excluded itself from carrying out charter flights for passenger transport, since Decree No.7476, dated 12.3.1991, states that air transport remains state property and not private property.

B. Without the permission of the Ministry of Transportation, ADA announced the beginning of Tirana-Bari-Tirana flights and was registered in the International Air Transport Association, IATA, actions which run counter not only to our legislation in force, but also to international practices for starting regular airlines or charter airlines.

The Ministry of Transportation voices its resolute opposition to the actions of the ADA company, which has carried out these procedures without taking into consideration the appropriate organs of the Albanian state and without receiving their approval.

Zhelev Addresses Nation on Elections

AU1707181391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Address to nation by President Zhelyu Zhelev—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow countrymen:

With the fixing of the elections for a National Assembly and the local bodies of authority for 29 September, the election campaign must be regarded as officially open. Thus, the country is entering a new stage in its political development.

I call upon the Grand National Assembly to fulfill its constitutional powers by adopting as soon as possible laws on organizing and conducting the elections.

I call upon the government to do what is necessary to guarantee the elections with regard to administrative, financial, and information matters.

These elections are exceptionally important for Bulgaria. Many things will depend on whether they are fair and democratic, and on whether they are held in conditions of civil peace and strict observance of public order in the country. These things include: first and foremost, the stability of the state institutions during the next three or four years; the ability and efficiency of the future National Assembly and the government that it produces; the course of economic reform and its successful completion; and the political, financial, and moral support of Bulgaria from the outside world and the European and world structures—the Council of Europe, the CSCE, the EEC, NATO, the Group of 24, the World Bank, and so on.

This is why an immense responsibility is carried by all those on whom civil peace and calm in this country depend during the election campaign preceding the elections. This is a responsibility for the fate of our country in the near and more distant future. First and foremost, moral responsibility must be assumed by the political forces that will be the primary actors during the elections, and on which the successful conduct of the elections depends to an immense extent. Responsibility must also be assumed by the following:

The state administration, which has to ensure all the necessary conditions and prerequisites for the normal course of the election campaign—secure and speedy processing of information, the timely announcement of election results, and so on; the law-and-order services, which have to strictly and uncompromisingly apply the law against any attempts to violate or hinder the democratic procedure and take appropriate action;

the mass media, especially television and radio, which must transmit information about events precisely, correctly, and objectively. In view of their immense potential to influence people, the journalists employed in these services also bear an immense moral and political responsibility.

All of us together, with the combined efforts and goodwill of the political forces, state institutions, the public order bodies, and the mass media, all of us can prepare and hold the elections that our state needs. This is the road for Bulgaria.

We are approaching elections. Elections are the chief tool of democracy. So far, mankind has not invented anything more democratic or fairer than honest and fair elections.

Recently, in connection with the passing of the new Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria by the Grand National Assembly, the political tension in the country has noticeably increased. Some of the deputies who walked out of the Grand National Assembly have declared an indefinite hunger strike. In addition to the previous common demands of the legislative opposition for the self-dissolution of the Grand National Assembly and the calling of new elections, they have added two further demands: for them not to take an oath [to the new Constitution], because this is illogical within the framework of one and the legislative mandate, and to submit the new Constitution to a referendum.

The first two demands have already been implemented. Regarding the third, the National Assembly has also reached a reasonable compromise, by leaving open the procedure for taking the oath and decreeing that failure to take the oath will have no legal consequences. As far as the demand for a referendum is concerned, I consider this is an issue that should be resolved by the legislature, as it lies entirely within legislature's powers.

The Constitution is now a fact. It came into force at the moment of its promulgation. The date of the elections for a new legislature and local bodies of authority has been fixed on the basis of this Constitution. As the country's basic law, the Constitution must be observed by all citizens.

As far as I am concerned, I have already twice taken an oath of loyalty to the Constitution and the laws of the country—first, as a National Assembly deputy, and a second time when I was elected president. I remain faithful to this oath.

I appeal to the National Assembly deputies who have taken part in the hunger strike on one side or the other, as well as to the citizens who have joined them, to cease their actions, because the continuation of the hunger strike leads to an escalation of political tension and the danger of excess. We are approaching the elections, and such demonstrations are not necessary.

I am worried by the indications of violence, the rude attempts to attack and inflict beatings, incitement, lack of patience, and intolerance toward one's political opponent, or even towards a person who is simply different from yourself. This social psychology reminds one least of all of democracy and helps even less to establish it permanently.

We know that there are people in Bulgaria who are persistently striving to destabilize the country and throw it into chaos by discrediting the main political forces, political leaders, and state institutions, because this is their only chance. Fortunately, their possibilities are extremely limited. The vast majority of our people, despite the difficulties we are experiencing, support the peaceful road to democracy and the market economy.

The people who work to destabilize the country and destroy law and order and the citizens' tranquillity do not want elections, they fear elections. He who does not want elections does not want democracy either; he is afraid of democracy. We will never communicate with such people. Our paths will never converge.

We will continue to adhere to the slogan raised at the first big rally of Bulgarian democracy on 18 November 1989 in St. Aleksandur Nevski Square: Toward democracy, only by democratic means! Not only the goals, but also the means are democratic! (endall)

DUMA Praises Newly Adopted Constitution

AU1707161391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Jul 91 p 4

[Untitled editorial]

[Text] As of yesterday, 12 July, Bulgaria has a new Constitution, after 309 deputies placed their signatures under the basic law of our nation. In singing together the national anthem they consolidated the people's unity based on the Constitution and sanctioned the path of democratic development by legislation.

After a year of indefatigable efforts, the legislature has accomplished its historical mission. It was natural that the deputies stormily applauded each member who signed and finally embraced like brothers regardless of their political affiliations. They gave the motherland what it expected from them. They dedicated to the people all their loyalty, their hopes, and their pure aspirations for general, national progress, without which a state cannot possibly exist.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the drafting of the new Constitution was a great and moving legislative accomplishment. For several months the Grand National Assembly devoted all its efforts and concerns to the birth of the Constitution. Rallied around the problems and questions related to the Constitution, the National Assembly deputies worked together like in a family. This is the first time since the first Grand National Assembly in Turnovo that the Bulgarian legislature has been as united as it is today. This fact alone is sufficient to understand that, despite the political storms, our nation is united and indomitable.

Many controversial questions divided the legislature, but the truths that united it were even more numerous. In this respect the adoption of the Constitution represents more than a legal act. It is our greatest victory along the path of democracy. This event in our nation's life confirms that there are no insurmountable differences, when we are all children of the motherland.

Unfortunately, a group of National Assembly deputies decided to persist in their petty political passions and deserted their legislative duty. While the majority of their colleagues were signing the great document they gathered crowds around them trying to incite them against the document. Their thirst for leadership and greed for power escalated into political hysteria that no sensible man will ever forgive them for. In this case they placed their own interests above the people's interests. History will duly assess their unworthy behavior.

Good day, motherland! You have a Constitution already, a basic law that places you on the level of democratic peoples. No one can condemn our country for its past any longer, which was such a cause of concern for our people and for others. The new Constitution makes us an equal among equals. The deputies who were elected by the motherland have justified the country's hopes. Therefore, they should not be judged for the mistakes they may have committed. The mistakes were part of their love for the motherland. Those who do not understand or who underestimate the motherland are playing a silly and unworthy game. Forgive them if you can, but never give them the power that makes them so greedy!

Glushkov Objects to BZNS Constitution Decision

AU1707122091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Statement by Ivan Glushkov, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly—live]

[Text] I would like to express my view in connection with yesterday's news conference by the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] at which Mr. Kostadin Yanchev and Mr. Aleksandur Draganov- Dimitrov took the floor.

I would like to point out that their statements should be considered as their own personal stands because the leadership of the BZNS, namely the Permanent Board, has not discussed the problem related to the method of voting on the Constitution and the question of the referendum.

This is my first point, and in the second place I would like to reiterate that it was my personal decision to

refrain from signing the Constitution and that this decision concerns only myself. As far as this decision is concerned I am personally responsible for it and I am aware of my responsibility to the Bulgarian constituents.

Any attempts to criticize and make biased interpretations regarding my action show that some people, such as Mr. Kosta Yanchev, for example, who was a member of the former Permanent Board under Petur Tanchev, seem still to live in the world of outdated, totalitarian traditions, when the primary leader's decisions were accepted as an absolute commitment for all members of the organization from the leadership down to the rank and file member.

Thank your for your attention.

'Living Chain' Formed Around BSP Headquarters

AU1707121091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Fani Chudzhumova report on students' forming living chain around Bulgarian Socialist Party Headquarters in Sofia center—live]

[Text] I have returned from the Sofia center where a living chain has been formed around the headquarters building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council. It is organized by the Federation of Independent Students' Societies and the National Students' Confederation. They demand that the party headquarters building be given to cultural institutions for their use, as we already know.

Many people have gathered around the BSP headquarters building. There are also many people on Aleksandur Battenberg square, which is very crowded. I have not witnessed any incidents. These are my impressions from the living chain.

Lilov Speaks at First BSP Election Campaign Meeting

AU1707203191 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] launched its election campaign at a rally here this evening, held under the slogan: for defence of the Constitution, democracy and civil peace.

The Socialist MP's who addressed the rally lashed out against the MP's of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] National Movement who are on hunger strike to press demands for a referendum on the Constitution. The strikers' supporters were characterized as "aggressive forces threatening the Constitution and freedom, pogrom-mongers and political hooligans" by the deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council and former Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov.

The BSP leader Mr. Aleksandur Lilov described the Constitution as a guarantee of democracy and the BSP as the largest and most influential political force. He reiterated his thesis about the "ultra-right in the SDS who endanger social and civil peace," and accused them of lacking a positive programme. Mr. Lilov also predicted an electoral victory for the BSP.

Nationwide Reaction to SDS MP's Hunger Strike

AU1707203391 Soia BTA in English 1928 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—The Regional Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] in Pirin Macedonia also called for an end to hunger strikes. Yesterday the opposition in south-western Bulgaria organized a procession to Sofia in support of the fasting 27 MP's from the SDS. Today's declaration of the Regional Council of Pirin Macedonia says that with the scheduling of the elections for September 29 and the lifting of the requirement for a second oath, the opposition and the democratic forces have achieved success.

Today was the seventh day of the hunger strike of 27 MP's from the SDS. They stated that their major demands: elections on September 29 and revocation of the reswearing in—have been met. The fasting MP's believe that the remaining demand, a referendum on the new Constitution, has also attracted the attention of the public. It is still impossible to say whether they will call off their hunger strike. Hunger strikes in support of their demands continue around the country.

Mr. Metodi Nedyalkov MP of the United Agrarian Party faction, has been on a hunger strike in support of the new Constitution for four days now. Today he stated he will give it up after the 27 MP's from the SDS give up theirs.

Today the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] held a rally under slogans in support of democracy, the Constitution and civil peace. Thousands of Socialist Party supporters gathered in the central square of Sofia. The party's leadership expressed its certainty that the BSP will win the elections.

For two hours this morning the Supreme Council of the BSP was besieged by students who insisted that the BSP deliver the party's headquarters to the state.

SDS MP's Seek Way To Abandon Hunger Strike

AU1707203491 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—The 27 MP's of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] who went on hunger strike last Wednesday and pitched a camp near St. Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral are looking for a way to call it off. "We are going to struggle in parliament," Mr. Stefan Savov, the fasting leader of the Democratic Party, said this evening.

Two of the strikers' demands were fulfilled yesterday: The new elections were scheduled for September 29, and it was decided that an MP who refuses to be re-sworn in will not

have his credentials cancelled. They keep insisting, however, on a referendum on the new Constitution.

As early as last week the MP's moved to put the referendum issue on the agenda in parliament. "Tomorrow we are going back to parliament. This evening we confirmed our referendum motion in writing and hope that the bureau will include it on the agenda," Mr. Pavel Mazulov, one of the strikers, told the BTA this evening.

The chairman of the parliamentary BZNS (United) [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union], Mr. Metodi Nedyalkov, called off the hunger strike he had started in support of the new Constitution.

SDS MP on Hunger Strike Denies Split in SDS

AU1707154991 Sofia BTA in English 1431 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—"There is no split in the opposition or the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). Those who talk of a split are acting on instructions from the Communist Party," SDS MP Yordan Vasilev said in an interview for the "168 CHASA" weekly. Mr. Vasilev is one of the MP's who went on hunger strike on July 10 and a member of the SDS National Movement group.

According to Mr. Vasilev, after failing to avert the scheduling of new parliamentary elections, the "Communists" "have resorted to a second-string option: Once there will be new elections, the SDS should be split."

"At present, the president is faced with the uphill task of keeping the delicate balance. So far, he has done his job well," Mr Vasilev said.

SDS Chairman Dimitrov on Current Events

AU1707123391 Sofia BTA in English 0900 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—The decision of the Grand National Assembly that MP's should take an oath on the new Constitution might have put at stake Bulgaria's vital interests, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], says in an interview for "DEMOKRATSIYA."

A group of opposition MP's who do not recognize the new basic law are on hunger strike. Yesterday parliament found a compromise under which it is not obligatory to sign a new declaration on oath and it has no legal consequences.

Mr. Dimitrov sees the idea to sign new declarations on oath as an attempt to isolate a large part of the political spectrum from political life. According to him, this might have placed Pirin Macedonia in a dangerous position, leaving it without any MP's elected on the majority system at all. This would endanger Bulgaria's unity and territorial integrity, Mr. Filip Dimitrov stresses.

He expresses concern over developments in the Balkans and the possibility for petty hysterical nationalism and Balkan ambitions to take the upper hand. He believes that Bulgaria can show common sense and prove that it holds the key to Balkan security.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov rejects all doctrines based on geopolitical schemes, on preferential relations and ostentatious alliances. Bulgaria's chance lies in its integration into international institutions: Regional, European and of the world, Mr. Dimitrov stresses.

He explains the concept of "modern, regional openness" which he favours: First, partnership with all countries in building the new world order, second, consolidation of regional peace and security, third, agreements on Balkan cooperation in the humanitarian sphere and security and promotion of economic contacts.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov believes Bulgaria should adopt the principle of international participation and even intervention when it is necessary to preserve peace and security. According to him, Bulgaria should be incorporated in mechanisms of security consolidation in the Balkans, including military measures. The UDF leader points out that "we would like to work in this direction with all Balkan states and with states outside the region."

Mr. Filip Dimitrov explains that opinions have been sounded up and views on the issue raised are positive. He adds that he will visit many countries. According to him, the materialization of the ideas depends on whether Moscow will take a constructive stand.

BSDP Leader Dertliev Views SDS Structure

AU1707153991 Sofia BTA in English 1436 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP), told the press today that the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) is a coalition, "a whole comprised of independent parts," a "national dream." There should be cooperation between the SDS parties but it is impossible that the coalition take part in the elections as a single formation.

Mr. Dertliev called the SDS Centre (formed by the BSDP and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party a few months ago) a concept and a view on public life rather than an organization. The BSDP leader favours a re-registration of the SDS parties. In his view, the SDS is comprised of parties whose membership rarely exceeds 100, yet they decide the fate of the coalition.

There are three distinct wings in the SDS: radical, liberal and social, but it is hard to say what will be the nature of the coalition in the future. "Processes unfold," Mr. Stefan Radoslavov, one of the BSDP senior leaders, told BTA in answer to a question how social democratic conceptions and liberal ideas co-exist in the election

political agreement signed by the BSDP, the Green Party, the Federation of Democracy Clubs and a few other organizations.

According to Dr. Dertliev, the parties' illegally acquired property act will be the acid test that will show whether the Bulgarian Socialist Party has really changed.

Army Daily Warns Against Increasing Tensions

AU1707160391 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Jul 91 p 1

[Major Lyubomir Genov commentary: "The Smell of Burning"]

[Excerpts] Today the legislature will accomplish its work on the new Constitution. After the signatures of at least 267 deputies, the Constiution will become a historical fact, whether some people like it or not. [passage omitted]

One group of deputies who negelected their duties toward their constituents and walked out of parliament decided to engage in a new escalation of tension. A minority that declared itself to be the most ardent champion of democracy did everything within its power to prevail over the majority. As a result of the fact that legislative methods are beyond the reach of the minority, they had recourse to the pressure of street demonstrations and ultimatums. [passage omitted]

The simple comparison with the events of 1990 imposes itself, despite the difference in the distribution of forces, which is considerable today. In the summer of 1990 the pressure from the street was incited by the election victory of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and was directed against its symbols. Today the target remains the same, which is quite natural, but the general tension in political life is particularly exacerbating after the latest clash within the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. No matter how strange it may sound, the recent controversies within the opposition somehow pushed aside the struggle against the chief enemy, namely, the BSP. Despite the fact that the SDS is formally united, the SDS deputies who remained in the legislature are retaliating against each attack of the 39 dissident deputies with a new attack. Thus, the hope of understanding within the SDS is diminishing from day to day, while the stands of the two opposite sides are hardening. Let us not think about what the BSP can gain from this, but rather reflect on what our society as a whole is losing!

It is my conviction that the country is heading for a serious disaster in this way. The 39 deputies who announced a hunger strike by no means intend to play the game of healthy diets. They are obviously trying to draw the attention of certain circles in the public and gain their support. Where are they leading the crowds? This is hardly predictable. [passage omitted]

Only a spark is required to light a fire. It is not much, considering that we are in the Balkans. Romania and Yugoslavia have provided sufficient proof that the Balkan syndrome is very much alive! We seem to be rather delayed.... Or is it a coincidence that last week a journalist from the British EUROPEAN asked me over the telephone whether the Yugoslav "bear" may not start dancing in our backyard. To which I quite hastily ansered: "This is out of the question!"

Radio Chairman Vladkov Defends Khorizont Record

AU1707142091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Statement by Aleksandur Vladkov, chairman of the Bulgarian Radio Committee—live from the studio]

[Text] Good day esteemed radio listeners, I have several reasons for my appearance in the Khorizont news studio today.

Presumably many of you have already heard some announcements today that made the parliamentary Commission on Television and Radio accuse the Khorizont Program of deliberate, or concealed incitement to civil unrest. This is a grave accusation.

I cannot fully reject it, but I cannot accept any general rebukes addressed against the Khorizont program, which is working within its possibilities and under difficult conditions and is trying to inform you about everything that happens in the country and throughout the world.

We are also concerned about the increasing tension. I mean we who are working in radio, and we are no less concerned than the legislative commission and no less than any of you.

However, esteemed listeners, it is our duty to keep you informed, and your right to receive information. We cannot select only pleasant, or pseudo-pleasant news for you, because this is what we did for a long time.

Nevertheless, we should not voluntarily, or involuntarily play the role of organizers in situations of unrest and in illegal or prohibited actions. I believe that you will understand this.

Khorizont will also in the future be on the scene of all "hot" events occurring in the capital, or anywhere in the country. Nevertheless, we will announce in advance only events that have been authorized by the Sofia City People's Council and by the relevant municipal councils in other towns.

I take the opportunity of addressing all our listeners who might participate in upcoming rallies expected to take place in Sofia today.

Emotions are bad advisers not only for politicians. They do a disservice to us, journalists, as well. Give us arguments and facts, express your stands, and you can expect objective and accurate information from us. I

trust in your political maturity. You should also believe in our good intentions. Thank you.

BTA Protests Daily's 'Slanderous' Report

AU1707123991 Sofia BTA in English 1108 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—"OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK," which is said to be close to the government, has tried once again to discredit BTA in an extremely indecorous and unprofessional way. In a report on page two of the July 17 issue, the newspaper claims without quoting its source that "on Friday BTA transmitted information that tanks and armoured personnel carriers were approaching Sofia, which is not true."

BTA has established that the slanderous material published in "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" came from Mr. Aleksandur Vladkov, chairman of the Committee on Radio. At a meeting of the political forces on July 16, in the presence of the president and the prime minister, Mr. Vladkov said that last Friday BTA Had announced that tanks were heading for Sofia's centre.

However, it is BTA's practice to keep all its transmissions on file and the truth is as follows:

On Friday, July 12, reporting on the signing of the Constitution in a special transmission for the National Radio and Television, BTA described the situation at the juncture opposite the University of Sofia. Sofia's Mayor Aleksandur Karakachanov was quoted as saying that "it was calmer than he had expected." The BTA reporter said that "according to people around the university building, armoured personnel carriers were moving along the motorway to Novi Khan." In the next report it was added that BTA could not receive any further information to prove or disprove the rumours, because neither Interior Minister Khristo Danov nor Defense Minister Yordan Mutafchiev were available in the building of parliament to clarify the case.

Forty minutes later BTA transmitted a new report for the radio and television in which Colonel General Radnyu Minchev, first deputy defense minister and chief of Bulgaria's General Staff, said in an official statement before a BTA reporter that the rumour spread in the street was false. "Armoured personnel carriers, tanks and other military vehicles are not moving towards Sofia's centre," the BTA reported then, quoting General Minchev. General Minchev specified in his statement for BTA that "at about 15.00 hrs four armoured vehicles were freighted on a train taking them to an exercise field."

In principle, the BTA is against fanning up disputes between journalists. But when it comes to acts consciously discrediting the national news agency and to dangerous political speculations, the truth must become known.

EC Approves Emergency Aid for Kozloduy Plant

AU1707191491 Paris AFP in English 1813 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Brussels, July 17 (AFP) - The European Community (EC) decided Wednesday to give 13 million dollars emergency aid to Bulgaria to secure its seriously defective nuclear plant at Kozloduy, a diplomatic source said.

After a meeting here between the EC and the World Association of Nuclear Operators (WANO), it was decided also to provide a long-term contract to improve the security of all the country's nuclear installations.

The EC aid will be welcomed as Bulgaria is facing a serious energy crisis, caused notably by the Gulf war, after which Iraq refused to honor a 1.2 billion dollar debt to the former Warsaw Pact country.

Bulgaria has pledged to shut down the two most seriously affected of the six reactors at Kozloduy, the country's main nuclear reactor.

Memorandum on Responibility for Kozloduy Situation

AU1707142691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Jul 91 p 1

[Stoiyan Sirakov report: "Presidential Commission Insists on Seeking Responsibility For Situation at Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has turned into an international problem, which creates a negative attitude toward our country as a whole. It is high time to hold responsible all those who have contributed to the present state of our nuclear energy industry, as is stated in a memorandum on the responsibility of organizations and individuals involved with the power plant, signed by members of the Presidential Commission on Questions of Nuclear Power, the Union of Energy Industry Workers, and the "Survival" Journalists' Club.

According to the aforementioned organizations, the Committee for Power Supply, the "Nuclear Energy—Kozloduy" Economic Association, and the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy are responsible for the situation. The individuals described as having been incapable of coping with the tasks related to the nuclear power plant are Professor Nikola Todoriev, long-serving minister of power supply; Georgi Dichev, former director of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant; Oved Tadzher, representative of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee at the plant; and Ivan Pandev, long-serving chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

The major accusations against the aforementioned individuals named in the report especially point out the reckless exploitation of the reactors, gross disregard for the Soviet organizations' instructions, and lack of elementary training for the cadres despite the enormous

resources spent on nuclear power. The management of the plant failed to adopt any measures to protect the population against pollution and radiation. The Committee for Power Supply and the Economic Association did not provide the necessary social and working conditions, the signatories of the memorandum point out.

* *

In a statement on Bulgarian Television Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, warned about the complications likely to result from protest actions around the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. The trade unions of the plant also object to protest actions. Aleksandur Tomov proposed that a realistic and pragmatic solution for the situation be found through talks and discussions with Ecoglasnost representatives.

Trade Balance Reported in Equilibrium

AU1707134391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15 Jul 91 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report: "Trade Balance in Free Currency is in Equilibrium for First Half of Year"]

[Text] The calculations of experts from the Ministry of the Foreign Economic Relations indicate that the trade balance in convertible currency for the first 6 months of the year is in equilibrium. The tendency remains for exports to be higher than imports, and also the drastic shrinkage in the volume of commodity turnover continues.

Overall exports have gone down by 64.7 percent in comparison to 1989, and overall imports by 67 percent.

Analysts point out that the reduction in imports in exchange for convertible foreign currency, not including those from the USSR by government agreement, is significant due to the Bulgarian economy's being forced to finance itself.

KDH's Klepac Calls For Armed Slovak Guard

AU1707081491 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Jul 91 p 3

[Alena Melicharkova report: "Will There Be a Slovak Home Guard?"]

[Excerpts] In the last few weeks, several articles have appeared in the press to the effect that Slovakia is not Slovenia. One can sense from these articles, above all, the fear lest the Slovak nation fall into the extreme of fighting for its independence with weapons in hand, while searching for and upholding its identity on the international arena, . [passage omitted]

This fear made even more alarming the proposal by Jan Klepac, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council from the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], that the resolution of the Slovak Council on the report on the implementation and update of the Slovak Government's policy statement [which the Slovak National Council debated on 11 July] include a recommendation that the executive power prepare a bill on the home guard [zakon o domobrane].

That this was not just his personal opinion was confirmed by the Slovak minister of interior, who, while characterizing in general terms the growth of crime in Slovakia, put the situation into context by referring to the generally unclear political unrest in surrounding states, particularly in countries of the former Eastern bloc. At that moment, the Slovak legislature resembles a beehive. Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko introduced a rational element into the turmoil. In his opinion, the legislature can discuss anything it wishes. However, introducing such an important recommendation into the resolution, proposing that a bill on the home guard be drafted, would be more than unreasonable without prior extensive debate.

What could not be prevented, however, was voting on Slovak Council Deputy Chairman J. Klepac's proposal for amending the resolution. Even though the legislature turned down his proposal by a majority of votes, it turned out that the idea of expeditiously creating a legal norm that would permit the founding, and the arming, of a home guard is close to the hearts of 47 members of the Slovak National Council, that is, to almost one-third of the 117 deputies who were present. [passage omitted]

A judicious person cannot resist the impression that those who made, or who defend, the proposal are either playing with fire or lack political sensitivity.

Interior Minister Supports Proposal

AU1807083591 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 16 Jul 91 p 2

["r"-signed report on a statement by Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner; place and date not given: "Just One Question"]

[Text] [VEREJNOST] What is your opinion on the proposal by Jan Klepac, Slovak National Council deputy chairman, to form a group of home guards in Slovakia?

[Pittner] I myself believe that home guards could provide security for citizens in two respects. Above all, in the case of vandals wreaking havoc, and in the event of an upheaval exceeding the limits of acceptability. The problem mentioned by Mr. Klepac is another subject. Developments in the former socialist countries are so unpredictable that if a mass illegal violation of our border occurred, it could cause panic in the streets of our cities.

These are the main reasons to make me believe that it would be advantageous to form such units. The name is not important. This is precisely the reason why I believe the law on home guards should be adopted soon enough so that collisions such as those I mentioned would be prevented.

Misik Expresses Concern

LD1607112191 Prague CTK in English 1718 GMT 15 Jul 91

[Text] Bratislava July 15 (CTK)—Democratic Party (DS) Chairman Peter Misik at a press conference here today expressed deep concern over the proposed creation of a "Slovak home guard".

The proposal by Slovak National Council (parliament) Deputy Chairman Jan Klepac, a Christian Democrat, is "irrational", he said, especially in view of the present political instability.

DS representatives also reiterated their suggestion that August 29, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Slovak national uprising in 1944, be declared a national day in the Slovak Republic.

DS representatives condemned efforts by some Hungarian politicians to call into question the frontiers set by the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, under which two thirds of the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary was assigned to its newly established neighbours. According to the DS, the statements by the Hungarian politicians are directed against Yugoslavia, Romania and especially Slovakia, and reflect a policy that is a relic of the past.

Klepac Responds to Criticism

AU1707122291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Jul 91 p 3

[Statement issued by Jan Klepac, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council; place and date not given: "Concerning a Home Guard and a Confederation...."]

[Text] Issues involving coalition partners are clarified at coalition talks and not by means of public statements. However, since Democratic Party Chairman Jan Holcik has decided to use this medium, I accept his challenge. The subject requiring clarification is a proposal in which

the Slovak National Council [SNR] plenum—within the framework of a discussion on a resolution concerning a report on the fulfillment and implementation of the government's policy statement—recommends that the Slovak Government create legal prerequisites for fulfilling security tasks by preparing bills on a municipal police force, on non-state security services, and so on. Following consultations with the Slovak interior minister, I proposed that the text be supplemented as follows: "....on a municipal police force, a home guard, and non-state security services!" Of the 117 deputies present in the SNR, 47 were in favor, 53 were against, and 17 abstained. Among the SNR deputies who agreed with this supplementary proposal were representatives from almost all the political parties and movements represented in the Slovak legislature (apart from the Hungarian Independent Initiative and Egyutteles). They agreed with this proposal because they understood its rational basis and its urgency.

First of all, the issue does not involve the immediate establishment of a home guard but involves the recommendation and preparation of a law. A certain legislative process is involved here and—in the final analysis—if deputies do not approve a draft law, it is not adopted.

Second, to put this proposal into the same context as developments in the SFRY and the violent action there is purely an attempt to extract political capital from it. This is a bill that would, in fact, prevent violent conduct. Police forces in advanced countries not only have their tasks assigned to them, they also have an assigned number of officers.

Every day in the papers we read about the rising crime rate in our country. If this rising crime rate expands to include a social aspect, it could lead to situations that the police force—because of its size—will be unable to deal with.

Furthermore, movement in neighboring countries—mainly, however, in the USSR—is immeasurable. If we are engulfed by a wave of refugees, no one today dares to estimate the numbers, members of the police force alone will not be able to cope with the accompanying phenomena of possible violence and vandalism.

This proposal involved a defense measure that should guarantee our citizens their rights, that should increase their sense of security, and should prevent disorderly conduct.

Therefore, it was unnecessary to dramatize the situation and to spread panic about the return of totalitarianism. Obviously, Mr. Holcik, as the chairman of a small party, needs to compete for the voters' favor by highlighting his resolve to defend democracy and by creating an image of ominous totalitarianism and saber rattling.

However, no one was saber rattling in the SNR plenum. However, if sabers were being rattled in Democratic Party Chairman Holcik's fantastic imagination, let him demand an explanation from the SNR deputy chairwoman—a Democratic Party deputy—who also supported the proposal.

I am surprised that Mr. Holcik has described my speech to the SNR on the possibilities for a federative or confederative arrangement in our state as a faux pas. As SNR deputies, we are—after all—obliged to seek an arrangement for our joint state that would be best for the Slovak nation.

As an SNR deputy, I am guided in my work by my conscience, by the will of my voters, and by the political program of the movement I represent. My voters in Central Slovakia have made it clear to me several times that they do not want the federative arrangement we have come to know in other years. The Christian Democratic Movement has set down in its program the aim of gaining an independent seat and a separate star in a united Europe. To my way of thinking, a federation, confederation, unitarian state, and interstate union are instruments and devices, not an aim. Our aim is the wellbeing of the Slovak nation, for which I gave up my profession and entered political life. This aim is worthy of all our effort and endeavor.

In political practice, I am always afraid of a black-and-white view of the world. The world is considerably more vivid and more colorful than various manipulators would have us believe. The manifestation of totalitarianism is, in fact, an attempt to label anyone who holds a different opinion as unsuitable or even as an enemy. Common aims in a democracy are achieved through a multiplicity of opinions, and this very multiplicity establishes the precondition that the best proposal will triumph.

Assembly Acts on Pension, Security Service Law

AU1707133291 Prague OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech 16 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

["(jb)"-signed report: "An Amended Law"]

[Text] Prague—"When granting pensions, the Federal Assembly has voted for the harshest conditions. I did not expect this," said Minister Petr Miller.

When he had made this statement, he walked out of yesterday's discussions at the 16th joint Federal Assembly session. Thus, he made his dissatisfaction conspicuously clear, even though he had a smile on his face. When the deputies realized what they had done, they were far from satisfied. They were shocked.

The issue involved the arbitration procedure for changes in social security. In one phrase—the parallel receipt of a pension and a salary.

In view of the fact that at its last meeting the legislature did not approve the government bill on social security, it

was necessary to return to the whole issue. The arbitration committee prepared an amendment that was proposed by Deputy Michal Prokop (Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA]). Deputy Milos Zeman (Civic Movement [OH]) was the first to speak in the debate. He referred to the Federal Government's contradictory points of view when in the spring it drafted background materials for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In some material, it stated that it will adopt a legal regulation abolishing without exception pension claims for individuals who have decided to continue working, while in other material it requested that the government be empowered to permit the parallel receipt of a pension and a salary.

However, something happened that the deputies had not reckoned for. The amendment was passed, but without the contentious paragraph (on supplementary payments for people with special dietary needs); therefore, the old paragraph remained valid. The decree that limits employment opportunities belongs to it. Because the legislature neglected to amend the contentious paragraph, working pensioners lost their right to a pension. There was nothing left to do but quickly rectify the error. The deputies put the legislative mess in order by holding a new vote. The parallel receipt of a pension and a salary was retained, including the procedural decrees. Therefore, pensioners were only discriminated against for a few minutes. The government bill on social security will come into force on 1 September.

The widower's pension is a novelty in social security. A widower with child is entitled to 650 korunas. Another change is involved in transferring allowances provided in connection with carrying out military service.

In accordance with the law on the Federal Security and Information Service, the Federal Assembly elected a special Federal Assembly supervisory body that will oversee the activity of this security service. Its members from the House of Nations are: Zoltan Boros (Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement); Ladislav Kovac (Public against Violence Movement); Vlasta Parkanova (Civic Forum-ODA); and Frantisek Pernica (Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia). Its members from the House of the People are: Julius Bobovnicky (Christian Democratic Movement); Albert Cerny (Civic Forum-OH); and Jiri Pospisil (Civic Forum-Civic Democratic Party). The deputies were unable to elect a fourth commission member from this chamber.

Dissension, Split Among MKDH Members Reported

AU1607154191

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 15 July on page 8 carries a 1,100-word statement by the "Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement Press Center" entitled "The Movement Is Dissociating Itself." The statement responds to an interview with Frantisek Magyar, deputy to the CSFR Federal Assembly, that HOSPODARSKE NOVINY published on 17 June and in which Magyar discussed the positions of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] on various political and economic issues.

The statement says that Magyar presented his "subjective views" in the interview. It continues: "Frantisek Magyar is engaged in activities that are not in harmony with the goals of the MKDH and its mission. He has alienated himself from the original political goals of the movement, which is why the fourth MKDH General Assembly, held in Galanta on 13 April 1991, expelled him from the MKDH by a large majority of votes, together with three other Federal Assembly deputies (Vojtech Novitzky, Frantisek Szocs, and Oliver Varga), after he made it clear that he disagrees with the movement's present political line. All four subsequently left the conference hall, and no one followed them.

"At the same time the plenum denied them the right to speak on behalf of the MKDH and to defend its interests."

As a result of the expulsion of the four deputies from the MKDH and Deputy Ladislav Rajczy's decision to declare himself an "independent deputy," the statement continues, the MKDH is currently represented by two deputies in the Federal Assembly.

The statement also clarifies the MKDH's attitude toward the Egyutteles—Coexistence Movement [ESW], its coalition partner in the legislative elections: "The MKDH—ESW electoral coalition came to an end on the day of elections to legislative bodies. Presently, contrary to Frantisek Magyar's claim, there exists no agreement on a coalition partnership between the MKDH and the ESW. The MKDH disagrees with political activity based on the national principle. Proceeding from Christian philosophy, supporters of the MKDH from the ranks of the citizens of Hungarian nationality in the Slovak Republic are engaged in political activity that is not based on national foundations but on the implementation of the Christian philosophy they profess and on the social and political needs of citizens." The statement stresses that, contrary to the ESW's and Magyar's orientation toward a "unitarian state," the MKDH "is an advocate of an authentic and truly functional federation."

This is also why the MKDH regards the founding and the activity of the MKDH/ESW Club of Deputies in the Federal Assembly, whose members are Frantisek Magyar and the three other dissenters, as "illegal."

Finance Minister Outlines Civic, Political Views

AU1807091291

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 12 July on pages 8 and 9 carries a 3,500-word "exclusive interview" with Vaclav Klaus, CSFR minister

of finance and chairman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], by Julius Gembicky and Zuzana Alnerova entitled "A Pragmatist and Realist." As NARODNA OBRODA notes in its introductory remarks, the reason for the interview, the place and date of which are not given, was to "give Vaclav Klaus an opportunity to present his civic, political, as well as economic views in a wider context."

NARODNA OBRODA's initial questions concern Vaclav Klaus' work under the communist regime. Referring to his work in the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the interviewers inquire whether the disagreements that are now apparent between him and Valtr Komarek, the institute's director, were evident even then. Klaus replies that prior to November 1989 the critics of the then regime "had a tendency to pull at the same end of the rope." But even then "the depth of differences between us and director Komarek was roughly the same as it is now." Klaus recalls that, "sometime in 1987 or 1988," he wrote an article in which he divided Czechoslovak economists into three groups—"perestroyka economists, a prototype of whom was Jaromir Matejka," who wanted to "improve" the existing system; "the so-called structuralists," who knew what needed to be changed but wanted the state to bring about these changes by organizing large-scale structural changes and innovations; and proponents of the market economy. Klaus says that "everyone knew" that he had Komarek in mind when he wrote about the structuralists. The differences between him and Komarek became even more clearly apparent when criticism of the past regime had to be replaced by the "search for a positive program."

Asked about his work under the communist regime, Klaus says that in the sixties he worked in the Economic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, from where he was later fired "as a leader of non-Marxist and antisocialist forces." Thereafter, he started to work in the bank. Although he maintained "very close personal contacts" with dissidents and contributed to samizdat publications such as LIDOVE NOVINY, he was "not interested in going over into open dissent" and "always balanced at the edge between the possible and the impossible." He also differed from the dissidents in his outlook. While they subscribed to the philosophy "the worse the situation gets, the better for us" and waited for the regime's collapse, he had the feeling that "something must be done immediately." That is why he made use of all legal opportunities, such as lectures and seminars that he organized within the framework of the scientific-technical society. While working in the bank, he held training courses for bank employees, and in 1986 he also took the opportunity to teach at the Economic College in Prague. He had to stop after only six weeks, however, because of his "damaging influence on students." Klaus also recalls that, whereas he was unable to publish many of his texts in the Czech Republic "where the post-August [1968] oppression in economics was far more severe," he could sometimes publish them in the periodicals of Slovak research institutes. This is also how he got to know many of the Slovak economists (Kucerak, Vavro, Danco, Kovac, Sujan, or Hoffmann) who now occupy leading political positions.

One group of questions concerns the economy and Klaus' attitude to Slovakia. Asked whether he sees any difference between an ordinary Czech citizen's and an ordinary Slovak citizen's reaction to the radical economic reform, Klaus replies that, even though he is no sociologist, he does see a difference. He attributes it to the Slovak economy's greater dependence on trade with the Soviet Union, to the greater impact of cuts in arms sales on the Slovak economy, and to the "rather flat structure of production in Slovakia, that makes diversification more complicated." Klaus admits that these factors make the Slovak economy more vulnerable. He argues, however, that these problems were unavoidable and qualifies it as "social demagoguery" when they are ascribed to the economic reform.

Speaking about his attitude to Slovakia, Klaus explains that he has a Slovak wife, that he spends most of his vacations in Slovakia, and that he regularly meets with his Slovak relatives. Although he has had "a few rather vehement exchanges of views" with his wife, these never concerned "federal affairs, on which we are at one." To emphasize his Slovak connection, Klaus observes that, unlike Czech families, which eat fish soup on Christmas Eve, his family always eats cabbage soup, the traditional Slovak Christmas dish. Klaus is convinced that, owing to this Slovak background, he knows the Slovak atmosphere better than the average inhabitant of Prague.

Another question concerns Klaus' "professional appearances in public," which, according to the interviewers, distinguish him from many other politicians. Klaus replies that he has always had a penchant for public appearances. Even as a child he attended a drama group and sang in the Czechoslovak Radio's children's choir. Later, he played in the basketball league for 10 years and held lectures and seminars. Appearing in public, therefore, comes "naturally" to him. Even when attending conferences abroad, he "reacts confidently in various languages." Klaus is convinced that he serves his country well in this respect for "they are not used to this from people from the East." Klaus is also convinced that "professionalism is a prerequisite for a politician": "I believe that a politician must know what he wants. If he does not have inside him some kind of an internal compass, and if this compass does not guide him rather clearly, he cannot act with supreme confidence and self-assurance and very quickly proves to be a bad politician."

The subsequent questions concern Klaus' relationship with other politicians. Asked with which Slovak politicians he has a "particularly good rapport" and with whom he "gets into a controversy most frequently," Klaus replies: "I would not say that I get into controversies all that often. The conflicts grow with distance and are caused by taking certain statements out of context. I can say that I do not have any conflicts with Mr.

Kucerak, chairman of the Public Against Violence movement, and my relations with Mr. Miklosko are also very good. Even when I worked on the state budget with Mr. Meciar, not even one clash occurred, though there were critical moments when I wrote on the blackboard variants that might be temporary. I think that the conflicts arise with distance. I never speak about Slovak politicians in Bohemia, let alone negatively!

"On the other hand, I hear them say rather often that I am this or that, that I did one thing or another well or badly. I would like to stress that I never make such comments."

Asked about his relationship with President Havel, Klaus says that they "drink beer together" and that their "relations are much better than those who ask this question assume." Klaus mentions that he has known Havel since the sixties, when he was member of the editorial board of the periodical TVAR [Face], of which Havel was chief editor.

Klaus is also asked to comment on his attitude toward 1968-vintage reform communists and their involvement in present political life. He replies: "I regard many of them as a great impediment to the implementation of any changes in Czechoslovakia. They are people who are still socialist-minded and who have a very centralist way of thinking." In addition, many of them suffer from the "classical failings of left-wing intellectuals" in that "they are certain that they are wiser than the voters, know where the truth lies, and would like to dictate things from above." On the other hand, Klaus says that "the fact that someone was not a member of the [communist] party cannot be a ticket to paradise, as many believe." The dividing line does not lie between party members and nonparty members but between "leftist and rightist views of the role of man, the state, and the market." In this context, Klaus is asked about the demand of his party, the ODS, for the "debolshevization of the political scene." He replies that he does not identify with the word "debolshevization," which "does not belong in my vocabulary." He explains that this demand was raised as a reaction to "attacks from the leftist segment of the Civic Forum, the present Civic Movement, where cryptocommunist or socialist and leftist ideas continue to be very strong."

Subsequent questions concern the ODS' attitude to screenings, its relations with the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA], and its position on the drafting of the constitution and the possibility of delaying the elections until after the constitution is adopted.

Speaking about screenings, Klaus says that he "does not share the view of the mass of ODS members and supporters on this issue." He is aware of the problematic nature of screenings and of the danger of abuse. The very fact that the screenings are based on secret police records and on the premise that these records can be trusted is "problematic." Klaus admits, however, that he has not been successful in asserting his position within the ODS: "On this matter I am being pushed somewhere without my own initiative." This only proves that "the claims that I am trying to create the ODS in my own image are nonsense," Klaus says.

Speaking about the relationship between the ODS and ODA, Klaus says: "[Czech] Minister for Privatization Jezek [from ODA] recently said that he cannot find any differences between his views and my views. It is an historical coincidence that two parties were founded. ODA was more or less a political club founded prior to November 1989. As a club, it joined the Civic Forum and with its 180 members remained part of the Civic Forum until it split. Unfortunately, we did not succeed in coming to terms with that transition and exist in parallel, side by side. I do not think that the division will last long."

Turning to the constitution, Klaus says that it would not be a tragedy if it were to be adopted later than scheduled. He points out that there are countries, such as Israel, that do not have a constitution at all, and he personally, "as a pragmatist and realist," "would not be opposed to us choosing such a mechanism." The constitution would then simply be the sum total of all laws passed by the legislature. As for the election date, Klaus is of the opinion that "the timing of the elections should not be tied to the constitution." He sees a problem in having the elections take place next year because of the "enormous atomization" in present political life. Many of the big political groupings have disintegrated already and "the very same process still lies ahead of many parties." Klaus sees, for example, "two distinct currents" within the Christian Democratic Movement and in the Czechoslovak People's Party. Klaus fears that there will not be enough time to form "new, stronger, and more stable parties" and that there is, therefore, "the danger that, once again, we will not elect an optimal legislature." He also fears that "enormous coalitions made up of 20 parties would not be capable of forming a government." Klaus' "fear" is compounded by the fact that the next legislature will not be elected for two years, like the present one, but for four years.

In conclusion, Klaus is asked how much longer he will be able to "sit in two chairs"—that of finance minister and ODS chairman. The minister replies that the better the ODS apparatus works, the easier he finds it to reconcile his two posts. He is therefore confident of "holding on for some time."

Statistics Office Reports Prices, Living Costs

AU1807081591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jul 91 p 8

[Federal Statistics Office report: "Trends in Consumer Prices and Cost of Living in June"]

[Text] Compared to the same period last year, the overall level of consumer prices was 71.3 percent higher in June (61.5 percent higher on the average during the first half

of this year). After the pronounced increase in prices at the beginning of this year, monthly rates of price increases gradually eased.

In June, the price increase was 1.8 percent compared to the previous month. Prices for services rose sharply by 12.8 percent. This rise also reflects increased prices for heat and hot water. Food prices (0.1 percent decline), industrial products prices (0.5 percent rise), and public catering prices (0.9 percent rise) have become, in fact, basically stable; however, there were slight movements in both directions in the prices for some products in these groups.

Since December 1990, during the liberalization of prices, consumer prices rose 49.2 percent by the end of June. Of this, the sharpest increase was recorded in industrial products prices (68.4 percent), prices in public catering (45.4 percent), prices for services (40.0 percent) and food prices (26.7 percent).

Consumer prices in June, compared to December 1990, were higher in the Slovak Republic (51.6 percent) than in the Czech Republic (48.0 percent); however, their monthly growth rates in the Czech and in the Slovak Republic in recent months are identical.

The trend in consumer prices resulted in the higher cost of living in June, as compared to December 1990—45.6 percent in farmers' households, 44.3 percent in workers' and employees' households, and 43.5 percent in pensioners' households.

The indices for June do not reflect the last increase in prices for heat and hot water because in some reporting units (in the Czech Republic, as well as in the Slovak Republic) the [list of] new prices was not available.

Federal Statistics Office, Department of Trade and Price Statistics.

Pithart Discusses National Identity, Constitution

LD1707180191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 16 Jul 91

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by unidentified correspondent, place and date not given: "A Meeting With the Prime Minister of the Czech Government"—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, our regular meeting today should begin with discussion on an article by your Slovak colleague, Jan Carnogursky, who wrote in MLADA FRONTA DNES: When we compare developments in Yugoslavia and the USSR with those in our country, it is part of the same development of seeking form for the implementation of the national idea. On the other hand, however, who would like to abandon the certainty that is afforded by the present state or the joint state of the Czechs and Slovaks and set out on an independence path full of uncertainties and risks?

[Pithart] If I had to say something myself about what is happening in Yugoslavia, the USSR, and in our country, I would not stress the national idea so much. The national idea and the longing to confirm the national identity is a part of something more general, something which characterizes all the post-communist countries. This is the trend to move away, to break away from the former center. This is seen at all levels; this is not only Bratislava versus Prague, it is also Brno versus Prague. In Moravia, it is Ostrava versus Brno; in the Ostrava region, it is Opava versus Ostrava. Naturally, we would find villages in the vicinity of Opava that feel toward Opava in a similar way as Bratislava feels toward Prague.

All this acquires some kind of a powerful acceleration. It is as if we place ahead of what is national some kind of a general index to attempt to do away with the former centralism. Personally, I do not see so much of the national element, although I do not deny that the Slovak national identity is at the moment more lively than the Czech identity.

[Correspondent] For me, the actual statement of Jan Carnogursky contained also the second question that he himself is asking in this article. I will now ask you his question: If the criteria posed by the European Community for entering it would enable entry to the Czech Republic and not the Slovak Republic, purely for economic reasons, do you think that Bohemia would resist the attraction of earlier entry into Europe and say that it would wait for Slovakia?

[Pithart] Well, some kind of mistrust on the part of whoever is asking is apparent from the question. Maybe he wants to say that perhaps Slovakia would not wait. I am sure that Bohemia, for the time being, is not asking the question in this way because the joint state exists, we insist on this joint state, and I have never heard from anyone that we should break away for the sake of some kind of short-term advantages and that we should enter Europe earlier.

The race for Europe seems somewhat unfortunate to me. Europe will ask a lot from us, beginning with adherence to certain technical norms and so on, but, above all, it will want from us the ability to coexist in smaller and larger wholes, and it will want from us and wants from us to get on with the Slovaks and to have the best possible relations with neighbors, with Hungarians and Poles. I think that these good-neighborly relations, this ability to coexist is some kind of an overall indicator of the maturity of a country, some kind of an overall indicator of its readiness to enter Europe. They are not only numbers that communicate something about the state of the economy. They say the most important thing.

I think that the ability to coexist is important. So what is happening is that they look with some kind of mistrust and

suspicion at the race and who will be first. They would appreciate it if we could all do it together, if possible.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, my next question concerns the draft Czech Constitution. In what way will the results represent the work of the experts who met recently?

[Pithart] Well, the Czech Constitution is ready at the moment. It is the only text that I am aware of, as distinct from—I expect—six texts in Slovakia. What does this mean? It does not mean that Slovakia is more worried than we are about constitutions. It means that we here in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia know that without agreement on the arrangement of a joint state, the rest of the constitution cannot be used. It essentially hangs on the first chapter, a chapter that defines and delimits the relations between the two parts of the federation. That is why Bohemia was in no hurry. The work that has been done is good, we need not be ashamed of it, and we do not have to be ashamed of having just one draft constitution. In any case, it is a draft constitution that is capable of communicating with the Slovak constitution. I am afraid that the majority of the Slovak suggestions are monologues that cannot agree, for the time being, with the Czech Constitution.

[Correspondent] The next question concerns yesterday's words by the chief governmental officer, Vojtech Sedlacek, on administration, self-administration, and also on the reduction of the state apparatus. That is also the apparatus of the Czech Government.

[Pithart] Yes, yesterday the government departed from Prague to work all day, also abroad, on its idea of state administration, that is both the central, i.e. the government and the ministries, and the administration in small places. We have found out and confirmed what we suspected, namely that in the period of dramatic changes, things that should not have happened did happen. What ususally happens did happen, namely the bureaucracy has the tendency to increase. We have agreed on several principles that should mean the unification of state administration, the simplification of state administration, above all from the point of view of the citizens and this automatically brings about the reduction of the state apparatus and the numbers of officials. Naturally, we know that it is not sufficient to preach; one has to set an example. That is why we also carried out a change in the government leadership, and we are preparing to reduce the numbers of officials in the government and to offer them to the ministry that is currently bad off, that is, at the moment Mr. Jezek's ministry. Privatization has a huge agenda, it will be even bigger, and he is still working, I gather, with only 70 people. So we must have reductions and, at the same time, strengthening in all offices that need it. Simply, there will be ministries that will be leaner, and there will be ministries that will grow. Altogether, however, there should be an overall reduction. [passage omitted]

Carnogursky Comments on Agriculture Problems

LD1307103291 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 12 Jul 91

["Regular 10-Minute Friday interview" with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Lubomir Lindtner, recorded on 11 July, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Lindtner] Farmers in Slovakia blocked roads yesterday to protest the fact that the government is not tackling that sector's problems. What is your reaction, Mr. Prime Minister?

[Carnogursky] First, we must ask who actually organized the road blockade. It was the Cooperative Farmers' Union and the Slovak Farmers' Party, despite the fact that on Monday, 8 July, they had a meeting with the minister of agriculture at which they looked at the farmers' demands and reached agreement on the important points of those demands. They also agreed that the Cooperative Farmers' Union will meet in a few days time to discuss the outcome of the meeting with the agriculture minister. Despite this, and without meeting the agriculture minister again, they called for a blockade of roads. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that the Movement for Democratic Slovakia was also involved in organizing this protest, despite the fact that it presents itself as the so-called constructive opposition, but its agricultural policy spokesman Peter Baco was instrumental in organizing the blockade, even though Mr. Baco himself was, for many years, a party activist at the Ministry of Agriculture, and thus shares a considerable part of the blame for the current situation in agriculture.

The farmers' problems are similar to those of many other economic sectors. Following the removal of state subsidies, many farming businesses are simply unprofitable. They are demanding state support; the state wants to support them and is indeed doing so on a large scale, but the state budget cannot provide total financial support to everyone. Therefore, the government has to make decisions, it has to cut subsidies. In short, we are unable to meet all the farmers' demands in this case; in particular, we are unable to guarantee a market for the entire production of beef. The Ministry of Agriculture has sent a representative to the USSR, who has reached agreement for the Ukrainian Republic to take a certain quantity of our beef, and this deal is now being worked out. There is also a Ministry of Agriculture representative in Moscow holding talks with local beef procurement bodies there, but none of these are matters that the Slovak Government can resolve entirely by itself.

[Lindtner] You are hinting that certain demands rest on objective factors, but some of them are also due to an inability to cope with the pressure of economic reform—here I am referring to Finance Minister Danco's comment that when there is a bumper harvest, no state raises its procurement prices for farming produce—On the contrary, states tend to reduce them.

[Carnogursky] Well, we are not in this case reducing the procurement prices, but we are not able to buy up all of this year's harvest, if it is a good one, at the fixed prices demanded by the farmers.

[Lindtner] Can you, as Prime Minister, agree with the view that the government is not tackling the problems in this sector, and that the situation is the result of a political intention to bring the farming sector in Slovakia to its knees?

[Carnogursky] What a ridiculous thing to say! The government is tackling the problems in agriculture. If we were to seek to bring the farmers to their knees, we would bring ourselves down too. The Slovak Republic needs its farmers, and the government is doing everything to provide the best possible conditions for farmers, and is providing these conditions as far as it can.

[Lindtner] A similar though smaller blockade, of course, has been taking place in the Gabcikovo area. Mrs. Bauerova, a deputy, has read in the Slovak National Council a petition organized by mayors of localities in the Zitny Ostrov area, which contains rather radical demands. You have had the opportunity to fly over the town, and you have taken an interest in the situation. What view will you be taking in the government on Gabcikovo?

[Carnogursky] Another round of talks with the Hungarian Government will be taking place on Monday [date not specified]. The Czechoslovak Government delegation that I will be leading will go into the talks with the guidelines approved by the Slovak and Federal Governments, and under these, guidelines we insist on the validity of the original 1977 agreement on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project.

The Slovak Government does not want to alter, rescind, or withdraw from that agreement, and we want to confer with the Hungarian Government on the Hungarian Government joining with us to complete the dam project. The actual decision on the course of action that the Slovak or Federal Government will take will be made after this round of talks with the Hungarian Government, but I must say that particularly after I saw the Gabcikovo dam project from the air, it appears that the most advantageous solution is to complete the project or, better said, to put the dam project into operation solely on our territory as a temporary stopgap solution. Putting the project into operation in this way is also the best way to minimize the environmental damage that would arise if the project were to remain incomplete in the state it is today.

A group of a few dozen—it is estimated that there are about 30—people protesting at the completion of the project have been preventing the Hydrostav workers from continuing work, not even, for the time being, on completing the project, but simply on maintaining against the effects of the weather the technical quality of the work carried out so far. The deputy minister of forestry and water management has visited the scene of the protest and discussed issues with the protesters, but they remain unmoved.

The government has a duty to respect the law and international agreements and to carry out its policies in such a way as to prevent damage to property that belongs to the state and the people, and if attempts to convince the protesters do not do the trick, then the government will bring in order enforcement agencies to enable the workers to continue their work on the dam project.

[Lindtner] In one of our previous talks on the topic of Gabcikovo, you said that it was a technical and not a political problem, but your words and the whole situation indicate increasingly that there are signs that there is political pressure behind all this, and political pressure from beyond our borders. Do you not think that the Gabcikovo issue could become a hornets' nest?

[Carnogursky] It is true that the protesters at the dam include foreign nationals. The government genuinely sees Gabcikovo as an environmental, technical, power engineering, water management, and financial problem, and the government, for its part, does not want to turn Gabcikovo into a political problem. I would be very pleased if no one else made a political problem out of it either. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Denies Selling Arms to Slovenia

LD1707145191 Prague CTK in English 1325 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 17 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Omnipol corporation and the Defence Ministry have denied a report in today's issue of the Yugoslav newspaper "NARODNA ARMIJA" that Czechoslovak weapons were exported to the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia last spring.

"NARODNA ARMIJA", the Yugoslav Defence Ministry paper, said representatives of the Slovene Government and the Czechoslovak Defence Ministry reached agreement on the delivery of SAM-7 anti- aircraft rocket systems in March. The report cited Omnipol as the intermediary and said Slovenia was also offered 40-barrel RM-70 minethrowers and AT-8 anti-tank munition.

Omnipol department head director Jiri Sir told CTK that the delivery to Slovenia never materialised. He said that exports of some weapons to Yugoslavia were discussed with an American intermediary at the time mentioned in the article but the operation failed because the American partner was unable to supply an "end user certificate".

Sir said this was to be either a Yugoslav Defence Ministry or a government statement that the arms were intended for the sole use of the Federal authorities.

The Czechoslovak Defence Ministry said it does not export weapons.

Additive Included in Semtex; Exports Resume

AU1707114391 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Jul 91 p 1

[Josef Tucek report: "Semtex Going Abroad Again"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak plastic explosive Semtex may be exported again. Recently, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade granted the producer—Synthesia Semtin—an exemption from the ban on exports of explosives from Czechoslovakia. One of the reasons is that since May special additives have been included in Semtex that make it easier for the security screening machines, used particularly at airports, to detect it.

Synthesia Semtin and the Foreign Trade Ministry consider information regarding the quantity and destination of the exports to be a business secret. "We will be very careful about to whom we sell Semtex. Moreover, we will also always take into consideration who will be the end user," Engineer Vaclav Tamchyna of Synthesia Semtin asserts. In the past, this explosive was exported from Czechoslovakia by the foreign-trade enterprise Omnipol, which specializes in exports of arms and military technology. From now on, exports are solely the producer's affair. Let us only add that, as opposed to the purely military explosives that are guarded according to the army regulations, the potential misuse of more freely accessible industrial explosives is certainly easier.

According to the disclosure by the Foreign Trade Ministry, Semtex was exported mostly to the countries of the former East bloc, but partially also, for instance, to Libya. The suspicion that precisely this explosive was responsible for the death of 270 people in the crash of the American airline Pan Am's airplane over Lockerbie, Scotland on 21 December 1988 could not be proven.

Prospects for Soviet Compensation Talks Reported

LD1707200191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] A spokesman for the Ministry of Defense has denied that we can expect certain agreement at the next round of the Hungarian-Soviet compensation talks in August. It is not even certain that Viktor Shilov, the former Soviet government representative, will be replaced by Yuriy Grishin as head of the negotiating delegation. Our reporter Julia Szamado questions Gyorgy Keleti:

[Begin recording] [Keleti] We are expecting our Soviet counterpart to nominate their government representative within the shortest possible time and state what he is authorized to do. Further, we are telling the Soviets that we should decide the precise timing of these talks, when they should be held; in our view, these could begin shortly and be completed by the end of August. We should also agree on what the closing document of these talks should contain.

[Szamado] Grishin will be arriving in Hungary as representative of the Soviet government, and later Katushev, who is dealing with economic matters in the Soviet Union, will also be arriving in Hungary. Are there connections between the military and economic questions?

[Keleti] Since the Soviets did not give an official reply to our question on who will be representing their government, we do not know who the governmnet representative entrusted with the task of the negotiations on the financial and economic aspects of the troop withdrawal will be. That Mr. Grishin or Mr. Katushev will be arriving in Budapest shortly can be imagined, because economic and trade negotiations are going on between the two countries.

But, in my view, the financial aspects of the Soviet troop withdrawal cannot be discussed within a day or two, especially since Mr. Annus has no knowledge of any arrivals. [end recording]

Social Democratic Leader on Party's Position

AU1707175191 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Jul 91 p 3

["B.P.P"-signed interview with Anna Petrasovits, chairwoman of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party; place and date not given: "Csurka's Offering at the MSZDP Conference—Anna Petrasovits: Time Is Over for the Politics of Soap-Box Orations"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] The national conference of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [MSZDP] remembered the great French Revolution and the formation of the Second International on Saturday, 13 July. As Anna Petrasovits told us, all Hungarian political parties received invitations to this event. Apart from the remembrance, current issues in Hungarian domestic political life were also discussed, including a presentation by Petrasovits on the trade union bill and the way Social Democrats evaluate it. Istvan Csurka, legislative representative of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, participated in the conference and made a short speech. Similar to a previous gesture made by [Independent Smallholders' Party Chairman] Jozsef Torgyan for his party, Csurka offered the columns of his newspaper, the HUNGARIAN FORUM, for the "exposure of the guilty leaders of the party state." Apart from analyzing and evaluating speeches and the speeches that gave a historical perspective, some extreme thoughts surfaced in the contributions after the presentation. We turned with our doubts to the most qualified person, the MSZDP's chairwoman:

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] I suppose that many people would have expected a social democratic party to have a more decided stance on the trade union bill.... maybe even an espousal of the sovereignty of the trade unions, due to the identity of your interests in principle....

[Petrasovits] Our experts are working on a very detailed and thorough analysis of trade union property, naturally bearing in mind that we are mainly a party that represents the trade unions and the protection of interests.

However, the policy of chest thumping and proclamations has come to an end. In addition, the Hungarian domestic political situation is very complex today, and we would not like to be an elephant in a china shop....

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Istvan Csurka also made a speech at your party's conference on Saturday. Did you perhaps manage to reconcile your points of view on any of the issues?

[Petrasovits] Istvan Csurka came on Saturday as one of the people we invited to our open party conference; he did not come for political reconciliation. We received him with the respect that is due for any visiting representatives of the Assembly, as it would be in the case of Janos Kis or Viktor Orban, too.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Is this part of your announced policy of "Opening and Unity"?

[Petrasovits] If you like, it is part of a strategy we announced in the autumn of 1990, and I could summarize one of its major thoughts in the slogan "ethics in politics." We are ready to hold negotiations with all those political parties and interest groups that are based on the Constitution and interested in the establishment of political and social stability. Our basic principles are mutual respect and predictability, because there is a great need for the enforcement of these ethical requirements in our pliable situation.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Your relation with the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is far from rosy, though.... Sometimes, even sharp accusations can be heard at your party conferences....

[Petrasovits] Basically, we do not attack but rather search for solutions. Sooner or later, we find contact with those people who leave us to work. By the way, a representative of the MSZP also attended our party conference.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] An accusation is often brought up that the change of generations failed to happen in the MSZDP; therefore, your functioning seems to be "anachronistic."

[Petrasovits] Obviously, both we and our older leaders sense this problem. At the same time, the changeover to a younger generation can only be carried out according to our principles, in a diplomatic and humane way. However, if you look at our operative leaders, you can see that our age structure is not that bad. In addition, we need the experience of the older generation, because, unfortunately, our generation only learned about social democracy from books.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] At the moment, the MSZDP is a small party in a controversial situation, and it is also struggling with financial difficulties. How can you avoid the political influence of outside forces that may "arrive with support?"

[Petrasovits] I can safely say that our party cannot be manipulated in any direction. Financial discipline and thrift are the cornerstones of our independence. We wish to be a predictable and reliable financial partner.

SZDSZ Leader Criticizes Assembly's Performance

LD1707112391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 16 Jul 91

[Text] The past year has been, in some ways, nothing but the collapse of an illusion. Society has lost its belief in democratic institutions and also lost its hopes. Ivan Petoe, faction leader of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] said this at this morning's news conference evaluating the work of the legislature over the past year. The reporter is Gabor Kereszti:

[Kereszti] The Assembly has worked intensively but not effectively enough. This is how Ivan Petoe, SZDSZ faction leader, assessed the work of the legislature during the year.

The reason is that government parties have still not realized that the transformation cannot be implemented without some painful measures. So some basic economic legislation was not introduced, or only in part, such as the law on privatization, on cooperatives, and the land law. Ivan Petoe emphasized that those that were passed do not provide comprehensive regulations for the serious problems.

In the view of the SZDSZ, this situation arose because the government had presented to the Assembly delegates only "voteable" bills; their only aim was to obtain the necessary majority. So they did not take into account the effectiveness of the laws, their effects, and what the possible consequences might be. As an example, Ivan Petoe mentioned the law concerning church properties.

The faction leader said SZDSZ will continue to present a liberal alternative. He mentioned, as an example of the result of their own work, that already the government had adopted more than one of the SZDSZ's ideas, even if it did not always openly declare its having done so. Such an idea, for example, was leaving the Warsaw Pact, urging the dismantling of the organization.

[Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian at 1500 GMT on 16 July adds: Ivan Petoe also criticized the government saying their actions are motivated by short-term political interests. According to the faction leader of the SZDSZ, the aims of the cabinet reflect a particular, Eastern European conservatism, that cannot break with the centralizing role of the state."]

Katona Comments on Relations With Yugoslavia

LD1707221791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Interview with Hungarian Secretary of State Tamas Katona by Janos Hollos on Katona's summoning of the SFRY ambassador to Hungary in Budapest on 17 July—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Hollos] Mr. State Secretary, why did you summon the Yugoslav ambassador earlier?

[Katona] When the ambassador last called on me, we talked at length about a great number of questions. During that visit, I did not notice that he objected to anything about Hungary's position.

[Hollos] Nevertheless, judging by what appeared in the Yugoslav press, one gets the feeling that the ambassador had come to protest or to bang on the table here.

[Katona] Yugoslavia is living through difficult times. Hungary in no way wishes to extract some selfish short-term profit from this. Our interest in the question of Yugoslavia is that the people of Yugoslavia, all of them together, should find some answer—whether that is in unity or in the form of several states. For Hungary to intervene in this would be unnecessary and could be dreadfully misunderstood.

[Hollos] How do you explain then that the Yugoslav press is allegedly continuously misrepresenting the statements of Hungarian politicians?

[Katona] Because it is a great thing to have an enemy. Perhaps it would help to provide cohesion. There is no other logical explanation. Hungary's position has not changed at all. We are saying today what we said on 27 June, 3 July, and 11 July. No responsible Hungarian leader has ever even touched on the question of the Yugoslav border in any form—not in words and not even in thoughts. Other countries have been giving a range of advice. We abstained from this.

[Hollos] In the Yugoslav press, the statement by Jozsef Antall that, at the time, Vojvodina had been joined to Yugoslavia and not to Serbia caused a great storm.

[Katona] I am surprised that this caused a storm, because from one point of view it is a fact, and from the other point of view it can be interpreted as a gesture toward Yugoslavia.

[Hollos] Meaning what?

[Katona] That Yugoslavia, and not Serbia...[changes thought] Our natural partner is Yugoslavia...

[Hollos interrupts] A united Yugoslavia?

[Katona] We have to accept that history does not develop in accordance with the wishes of neighbors. [passage omitted]

Explains SFRY Attitudes

LD1707173891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] The Yugoslav Ambassador in Budapest has been summoned to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry because of the accusations published in certain Yugoslav papers. Janos Hollos interviewed Tamas Katona, state secretary for foreign affairs. Now you will hear a short excerpt from the conversation:

[Begin Katona recording] One has to take cognizance of the fact that history is not formed according to the accusations of neighbors. We do not wish even to give advice to the Yugoslavs regarding methods of problem solution, precisely in order to avoid such misunderstandings. In the statement of Jozsef Antall [at the Antall-Cossiga meeting in Budapest on 6 July], there was no mention of any kind of historic right at all. And let us take notice, once and for all, that this government composed of historians could care less about historic rights. We do not want to re-occupy Etelkoez, and we do not want to go to the Urals just because we have a historic right to do so. This is not the way history is shaped, and Europe is moving from the position of national states to the direction of unification. Therefore, we are mainly preoccupied with this, and we know that it is in the interests of Yugoslavia, and within this, also of Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia to practice natural cooperation with Hungary.

Governments and states come and go; peoples remain. And if they have their heads screwed on properly, they can get along with each other; if they are stupid, they kill each other. We want to avoid the latter, and even now, at today's meeting, we examined the most vital, the most topical questions, and I can say that, despite the mass of confused press manifestations, again we held our heads above water, and we held out, not a fist, but an open hand toward Yugoslavia. We certainly hope that they will finally recognize this, that this is Hungarian politics, and that they will finally reply to our questions. For we do not get replies to our questions that we put to them, only protest notes.

We have inquired, not from the Slovenes but from the Yugoslav Federal Foreign Affairs Secretariat, what they know about the fate of the Magyar villages of Slovenia. For we do not know anything certain about them. We received a rude note in reply. [end recording]

Defense Minister Warns of Intelligence Activity

LD1707192891 Warsaw PAP in English 1429 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—Defence Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk told a press conference in Warsaw on Wednesday [17 July] that intelligence services of neighbouring and other countries were stepping up their activities in Poland.

As example, Kolodziejczyk mentioned the "revival of German sentiments in Silesia" which, combined with high concentration of industry and military units in the area, may encourage activities against the state's security.

Balcerowicz: U.S. Debt Agreement 'Good Example'

LD1707211391 Warsaw PAP in English 1741 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—Poland and the United States signed an agreement in Warsaw on Wednesday [17 July] under which the U.S. will reduce by 70 percent the Polish debt which had grown to approx. 3.67 billion dollars at the beginning of last April. The debt will be first reduced by 10 percent and this sum must be spent on environment protection. The remaining debt will be reduced by 46.67 percent of the present total and interest by 80 percent. The final stage of reduction, by another 20 percent, will be done in 1994, when Poland fulfils the programme recommended by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz said the agreement is a good example for other creditor countries, while U.S. ambassador said it shows support of international community for Poland's bold reform programme.

OPZZ, Government Talks End in Deadlock

LD1707220791 Warsaw PAP in English 1914 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—A delegation of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Union's (OPZZ) on Wednesday [17 July] decided to end negotiations with a government delegation on the current economic situation in Poland due to the lack of any positive results.

Head of the OPZZ delegation Maciej Manicki said that although the talks were conducted in a concrete atmosphere, but in the light of unsatisfactory effects he saw no possibility of their continuation and proposed to end the meeting.

Head of the government delegation, Deputy Labour Minister Ryszard Pazur said that sides made little progress. Differences on some issues are significant, however further talks would be beneficial to both sides, Pazur said.

Maciej Manicki, addressing a press conference today, said that the OPZZ lodged a proposal to cut to three days the work of a conciliation team set up to resolve the deadlock between the OPZZ and the government. "The decision of the presidium of OPZZ's National Council on the conciliation procedure is yet another sign of our goodwill. We hope that Minister (of Labour) Boni will agree to our proposal," said Manicki.

'Prompt' Payments to Public Workers Promised

LD1807095691 Warsaw PAP in English 2152 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—Following wide-ranging discussions with Solidarity's national leadership, the Polish Government confirmed on Wednesday [17 July] that it would ensure prompt wage payments to workers in the public sector, and will realise the payment of housing subsidies to the poorest Polish families, until the end of this year.

Commenting on the talks, Solidarity national leader Marian Krzaklewski said that it was essential for the government to intervene to protect those workers and trade unionists most threatened at this difficult, transitional period.

Summarising the results of the discussions in May and June, and the output from the working groups, the government drew attention to the realisation of settlements relating to service continuity for workers in liquidated state firms. Also, a rapid up-dating of the law on mass redundancies has been completed.

In response to demands from Solidarity for a widening of the list of regions specially threatened by unemployment, Labour Minister Michal Boni agreed to vet the list every 3 months.

Solidarity To Nominate Parliamentary Candidates

AU1607135391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Tomasz Roguski report: "'Solidarity's" Own Election List"]

[Text] "Solidarity" will present its own lists of candidates in the coming parliamentary election. The National Commission will decide on 4 September whether to merge its lists with those of other political groups in the voting districts in which "Solidarity" is represented.

The Third "Solidarity" Congress resolution says that the union should have a limited representation in Parliament. On 11 July, the National Commission decided that the "Solidarity" regional branches would decide about the posting of lists of candidates in voting districts. The lists may be smaller than the number of seats to be won in a given district, but the total number of candidates in all lists may not be less than 69. The National Commission has yet to decide on the exact number.

Regional lists of candidates will be formulated by the regional branches, but the National Commission will have the right to veto them. The National "Solidarity" list will be formulated by the National Commission.

Before they may be entered on a list, candidates must sign a declaration that they never cooperated with secret services and that they agree to the publication of their "portfolios." For the sake of ethics, the members of the National Commission must also sign such a declaration.

A National "Solidarity" Election Committee has been formed. Its chairman is Marian Krzaklewski, and its other members are Wieslaw Brycki, Andrzej Kropek, Zdzislaw Malinowski, Jan Mosinski, and Jozef Polkowski. The committee will also contain representatives of the "Solidarity" branches who nominate their own candidates. Regional election committees will also be set up. Only election lists nominated by these committees will have the right to use the "Solidarity" symbol.

Some members of the National Commission suggested that the decision with whom "Solidarity" should merge its lists should be made at the regional level.

Andrzej Slowik suggested that the union chairman contact the president with a view to forming an election bloc that includes Private Farmers "Solidarity" and other groups with no communist or nomenklatura ancestry.

Janusz Palubicki suggested a method of disciplining elected "Solidarity" deputies. Before the elections, he said, they should declare that they will adhere to the decisions of the union's National Commission and those of their own parliamentary clubs. If they fail to do so, or defect to another club, they should pay back the costs of their election campaign and pay "something in the nature of compensation."

"Solidarity" Chairman Marian Krzaklewski said that the "Solidarity" symbol is still prestigious enough for "Solidarity" to win more than the number of votes it needs to have a restricted parliamentary representation, apart from which the popularity of the other parties is still too weak. He said he thought that some of the regional branches would limit the number of candidates on their lists and transfer any excess candidates to the lists of parties derived from "Solidarity." He did not rule out the possibility of various election alliances in different regions.

Center Alliance Rejects Democrat Coalition

LD1707192791 Warsaw PAP in English 1616 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—The Centre Alliance Party (PC) rejected the proposal of the Liberal-Democratic Congress to join hands in the electoral campaign for the Senate (upper house).

PC justified the decision with an enormous gap between the programmes of the PC, the Liberal-Democratic Congress, and the Democratic Union.

PC added, however, that coalition talks could be started as soon as these organizations change their programmes to meet the interests of wide masses which have been deprived of the benefits offered by configurations established under communist rule in Poland.

KL-D Regrets Rejection

LD1807094891 Warsaw PAP in English 2135 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—The Liberal-Democratic Congress (KL-D) Main Board expressed its dissatisfaction on Wednesday [17 July] at the fact that the Centre Alliance (PC) rejected its offer of an agreement of the reform-minded forces in the election campaign with the view to creating a stable Senate.

"KL-D's attempt to form a coalition in the election campaign to the Senate failed because the conflict between the two main groupings competing for seats in the Parliament—the Democratic Union and the Centre Alliance—is too deep, Chairman of the KL-D's Main Board Donald Tusk declared. "Our party has always kept its distance from that conflict and will always make its best to temper it," Tusk said.

SLD To Field 391 Candidates in Sejm Elections

LD1807083191 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—The Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD) is going to name 391 candidates for deputies to the Sejm (lower house) in the upcoming general elections, leaders of the Alliance announced here on Wednesday [17 July].

Apart from members of the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) the candidates will represent several trade unions and youth organizations. The SLD list will feature 30 deputies to the present Sejm (lower house), members of the Democratic Left Parliamentary Floor Group (PKLD). PKLD leader Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz will be a candidate from the Bialystok constituency, chairman of the SDRP main council Aleksander Kwasniewski will run in Warsaw and SDRP General Secretary Leszek Miller in the central provincial city of Lodz.

The Alliance of the Democratic Left will also have its candidates for senators.

According to Cimoszewicz, the success of the Democratic Left in the upcoming general elections will be limited due to the Left's political past and the efficient propaganda carried out against the left-wing groupings by the ruling camp. However, distinct anti-Solidarity attitudes of a part of the electorate is a new feature of the

current campaign. "I am convinced that Solidarity groupings will not achieve the results they expect," Cimoszewicz said.

The Alliance of the Democratic Left was formed last Tuesday [9 July] but was not joined by the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ). Cimoszewicz said it would be a serious error that would do a lot of harm if the OPZZ chose to take part in the elections as a separate group.

Democratic Union's Frasyniuk Briefs Press

PM1807080691

[Editorial Report] Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE 13-14 July 1991 carries on page six a 1,700-word Jan Wawrzyniak "unauthorized" account of a "recent" press conference given in Wroclaw by parliamentary candidates nominated by the Democratic Union's Wroclaw and Walbrzych Regional Board. The participants included Democratic Union Deputy Chairman Wladyslaw Frasyniuk.

On the subject of economic crime and corruption, Frasyniuk is quoted as follows:

"Vociferous claims are being made in certain circles about widespread corruption and lawlessness raging in Poland and contributing to the collapse of the state. These claims are supposed to justify leanings toward a mighty power apparatus which would aim to subordinate the Army, police, and the public prosecutor's office to its authority. I oppose such methods of strengthening people's power and creating institutions akin to the notorious Worker-Peasant Inspectorate. They are only conducive to chaos and disintegration and would again encourage informers in their activities. As a result, it will be mainly the State Treasury which will incur losses. Of course, we are very concerned about corruption, but it must be fought in legally acceptable ways by relevant authorized and competent institutions.

"All instances of conflict between the President's Chancellery and Parliament generate a sense of instability and may encourage some to accept, or even demand, bribes. People must be confident that the only reasons why they might lose their jobs and means of support would be either substantial economic considerations or serious infringement of the law on their own part."

With regard to privatization and workers' shareholding schemes, Frasyniuk is reported as saying:

"We must not ignore the difficult situation of the state-owned enterprises, which are treated shabbily also by the trade unions. I believe that both private and state-owned companies should be treated equally, in all comparable circumstances, for example when they launch job-creation schemes."

The next issue discussed at the conference concerned the government's authority to rule by decree. Here SLOWO POLSKIE quotes Frasyniuk as saying:

"The government should not be granted such privileges, because the ruling team is divided and decrees would only aggravate the present state of chaos."

Finally, Frasyniuk is cited as follows on the present condition and configuration of the Polish political scene prior to the parliamentary election:

"The Center Accord is wrong in asserting that the absence of an organized coalition before the election could result in a subsequent particularization within Parliament. Indeed, I would say that the opposite is true.

"I worked closely with Lech Walesa over a period of many years. I still remember how, on one occasion in 1981, during a meeting of the Solidarity National Commission, he quipped: 'We were supposed to have democracy here, but I still note dissenting voices.' I very much hope that that witticism made by the man who is now Poland's president will always remain in the sphere of funny jokes."

Walesa Meets With Radio, TV Workers

LD1707210991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] We are freeing ourselves from the communist legacy. Our transformations will not be complete if they exclude radio and television, said President Lech Walesa during a meeting with the workers and management of radio and television:

[Begin recording] [Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I wanted to remind you of my meeting with Polish women, with women of varying opinions. One opinion in 200 did not fit in with this meeting, opinion which merely attacked the president and nothing else. This was reported with premeditation on Polish television as the most important thing which took place in the Belweder Palace. Today, the mass media, similarly to what happens in the West, very often talks about various slogans, various little things, sensations. I understand that it is good that these things are being discussed, only probably not everywhere, and these sensations are not always necessary.

At the same time, [word indistinct] pose the question here of how the general viewer receives this? In my opinion, this requires you, the elites, to consider what needs to be done, because this must not be dropped. This must be done, but it must not be the essence of our information. This cannot be the point which will result in more patriotic Poles, or which will convince them of the reforms, to make an effort, to sensibility.

[Unidentified speaker] I think that the thing which units us all in this hall is faith in the need for deep reforms in radio and television, faith that they are necessary and must succeed. The liquidation of the centralist system will also provide a better financial condition for our firm, which has already improved, and I think it will improve still further. With the proper political support

and political climate, these changes can and should succeed. On the other hand, I must also say that the pre-election situation places us in a difficult situation. Various political groups want to treat television or radio as a tool of the political game.

In my understanding, various press attacks, press polemics, and the attitude of part of the Sejm toward us are also tools of the political game. We are in an unstable situation and we are striving for such stability very much.

[Second unidentified speaker] I would like to point out a very dangerous phenomenon in Poland. With premeditation, there is what I would call—in progress in particular in the press—an attack against everything currently taking place [at radio and TV], and this is supported by you as the president. (?This is particularly aimed) against the current leadership of the Radio [and TV] Committee. I watched with disgust what went on in the Sejm when even the deputies who are not hostile to television did not ask a single fundamental question for this leadership: What did you find when you took over this institution, and what have you done during your work at this institution to improve things?

[Walesa] I would like you to be really independent. I will help you a lot, will support any criticism, but this criticism must serve Poland and its reforms and must not destroy the drivers [as heard]. The drivers must be changed, the law needs to be changed, but when the driver is appointed, then let him drive, within the framework of the law. But when what is absolutely essential is being destroyed, we get anarchy, and today many people who are independent could be accused of leading Poland toward anarchy and may force me to take some kind of action which I would never would like to take. But if these (?theoreticians carry on) like this, lead like this, then we will have no choice. Therefore, there is great responsibility—independence but responsibility. [end recording]

Iliescu Receives Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev

AU1707195191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1752 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/7/1991—President Ion Iliescu received on Wednesday afternoon [17 July] the visiting foreign minister of the Russian Federation, Andrey Kozyrev.

In a way, it was a resumption of the Moscow meetings where the president talked with leaders Gorbachev and Yeltsin, said Kozyrev at the end of the meeting. We also discussed the upcoming visit to Romania of President Yeltsin and I told Mr. Iliescu what the results of my present visit were. During my negotiations, agreement on political and international relations was paralleled by a focus on economic questions. The president was so kind as to tell me how he saw the economic relations between Russia and Romania could be boosted by setting them on a new basis. I think the meeting was particularly fruitful and it opened new prospects to the bilateral relationship.

The guest added that no date had been set yet for President Yeltsin's visit.

The meeting was attended by Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase.

Feliks Bogdanov, USSR ambassador in Bucharest, and Vasile Sandru, Romania's ambassador in Moscow, were present.

Statistics on Foreign Investments Released

AU1707123691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1117 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/9/1991—Foreign investment in Romania increased in the first six months of 1991 as against 1990.

According to data centralized by the Romanian Development Agency, as many as 2,671 commercial companies with foreign contribution were registered in the first six months of the ongoing year, which compares with 1,501 in 1990.

The invested nominal capital in hard currency however was of 61.9 million dollars in the first semester of 1991, as against 128.69 million dollars in 1990, which suggests that recently the number of small foreign investors increased (natural persons, small commercial or servicing companies, etc.)

Experts with the Romanian Development Agency also showed that most companies of world repute (Minolta, Fiat, Castrol, Marubeni, Renault, BASF, Siemens, Rank Xerox, Dow, Bayer, Ciba-Geigy, Shell, Thyssen, Mitsui, Rhone Poulenc, etc) created representations in Romania while others are getting familiar with the particularities and the potential of the Romanian economy.

Which is seen as positive since once a decision to create a commercial company is made the time needed to start like activities will be much shorter.

Opposition Parties Walk Out of Senate Session

AU1707192091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1805 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/7/1991—The Liberal Group in the Senate comprising members of the National Liberal Party [PNL], the Romanian Ecology Movement, the Romanian Ecology Party and the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party left the house on 17 July during the debate on the privatisation bill to protest the intolerance shown by members of the ruling party, says a statement signed by PNL Chairman and Vice-President of the Senate Radu Campeanu.

The move was motivated by the fact that, even though the Senate had passed by a large majority a motion on the adoption of the second chapter of the bill by secret vote, "irregularities of procedure amounting to a breach of parliamentary discipline sought to nullify the Senate's decision."

On Wednesday [17 July] the session of the Senate were suspended after that chamber's president, Alexandru Barladeanu, following an urgent meeting of the Permanent Bureau, had invited the representatives of the ruling party to reflect on the necessity of the debates on the governmental privatization bill in the absence of the National Liberal Party group which also includes representatives of other opposition parties who had left the debates.

The president of the Senate admitted there were "failures" to observe the rules and showed that now they were facing a "political" and not a "procedural" question.

He expressed the opinion of the Permanent Bureau that the parliamentary groups in the Senate should be given the opportunity to have an exchange of opinions before an eventual continuation of the debates only in the presence of the National Salvation Front's representatives who, being the majority, could vote that draft normative act.

FSN Criticizes Walkout

AU1707200591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/7/1991—Speaking on Wednesday evening during the main news programme on Romanian Television, the ruling party's leader in the Chamber of Deputies Marian Enache, and Reform Minister Adrian Severin fought back the arguments brought by representatives of opposition parties who left both houses of Parliament after they decided not to join the debate on the government's privatisation bill.

In answer to the opposition which alleged it was not allowed to take part in drafting the bill, Marian Enache said that the bill had been introduced in Parliament in

the month of June and that a special commission had been set up by the legislative power which advised it on an amended form to incorporate the variants of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party and the Hungarian Democratic Union.

On the accusation that the draft would not meet the major interests of the country, Marian Enache said it was only normal that opinions vary, but it was not normal that they be used to worry the population. Surprisingly, he said, that move which is against the rules of parliamentary democracy was made by self-proclaimed democratic parties, he said and termed it a political maneuvre that hits national interests.

For his part, Adrian Severin said the opposition had launched a campaign of untruths that was intended to put the population on the alert.

He reminded that the government was accused of not having elaborated earlier the privatization bill, showing that now, when it has been finally presented, after long efforts also joined by Romanian and foreign experts, the opposition tried to postpone its debates by different ways.

The minister in charge of the reform rejected the accusations considering that bill as anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-popular and reproached the opposition that it took advantage of the difficult privatization process to create confusions and to bring new threats among the population, appreciating such an attitude as unfair and anti-patriotic.

Adrian Severin appreciated the Wednesday events in the two chambers of the Parliament as a political incident by which certain opposition groups tried to prevent the government from applying its reform programme voted in Parliament so that they could get personal political capital.

Opposition Deputies Explain

AU1707200791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/7/1991—After their withdrawal from the debates on the privatization bill, the opposition deputies in the Assembly of Deputies organised a press conference on Wednesday stating that the minimum necessary condition for them to reconsider their decision would be that the majority accept their demand to postpone the debates with seven days for finding better solutions to improve the legislative initiative within the parliamentary commission specially set up for its validation.

According to the statement read by Liberal Deputy Toader Vaida all the deputies belonging to the National Liberal Party, the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party, the Ecologist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Traditional Social Democratic Party, the Romanian National Unity, the Bratianu Liberal Union as well as the representatives of the "20 May" Group—dissidents from the National Salvation Front—a part of the representatives of the Ecological Movement and a representative of the National Salvation Party—the ruling party—withdrew from the debates.

The statement appreciates the privatization as a very important process exceeding the interests of any party—be it the ruling one, too—and it emphasises that the opposition representatives consider that text as "unacceptable for the country's major interests" because it "spoliates the population" and "affects the national wealth."

Civic Alliance Party President Interviewed

AU1707122391 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 12 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Civic Alliance Party President Nicolae Manolescu by Paul Dobrescu; place and date not given: "There are 200 Parties in Romania, Two Opposed Positions, and One Political Language"]

[Text] [Dobrescu] Whenever I thought of you, I had the image of an intellectual who is very, very devoted to the area in which you are active and that absorbs you. Therefore, your emergence in the political arena came as a surprise. What is the reason for this: Have you rediscovered yourself from another angle, in our case from the political one, or is it a calling of the given moment, of the period to which you deem fit to seek a positive answer?

[Manolescu] I think that these things go hand in hand. Undoubtedly, there was a social and political commandment involved, as we used to say once upon a time; at the same time, however, had I not had inner resources to adjust to this calling, most probably I would have resisted it. It is certainly premature and, perhaps, ill-timed to say that I have discovered a greater political vocation than the one as a critic or that I want to replace the latter. Personally, I do not want to abandon my activity as critic; I plan to continue to write no matter how absorbed I will be by my political activity. However, I have come to realize that one cannot stand aside, give advice, and prove one's intelligence by commenting on what others try to achieve, particularly in a country which, after 45 years of communism, no longer possesses a genuine political class. I am a person who fully assumes responsibility, and the moment I became aware of this thing I said to myself that I must get involved and that I must try to do something matching my personal potential, temperament, and competence.

[Dobrescu] You said that you are trying to work in the area of criticism as well. What is currently lying on your desk in this respect?

[Manolescu] I have published the first volume of a critical history of Romanian literature. There will be five volumes in all. I am now working on the second volume and am approaching its end. And my friend Z. Ornea insists that this year should not pass without delivering it, as I promised. I hope I will be able to keep my word. Usually I do keep my word. I seldom give my word, but when I do, I keep it.

[Dobrescu] The Civic Alliance has been the rallying factor for the unification of the main opposition parties within the Convention for the Introduction of Democracy and in the Antitotalitarian Forum. Now it has set up its own party. What is the difference between this new formation compared with, as it were, the historic parties from the point of view of both its actual doctrine and strategic action?

[Manolescu] I could say that, at this point, there are more parties than political doctrines in Romania. I think that the approximately 200 parties do not have more than two main "doctrines." One of them is the doctrine that tries to continue the anticommunist spirit of the December '89 revolution, because from the very beginning that revolution was characterized by an anticommunist spirit, and therefore, a doctrine that tries to continue this anticommunist spirit, which, in fact, means renunciation of all former structures and establishments of communism and Romania's opening toward a democratic society based on an efficient market economy. The other "doctrine," which I would call one of restoration, is the doctrine of those interest groups which, we must admit, are still very numerous and for which Romanian society does not have to change radically, but just adjust, as it goes along, to conditions characterized by a certain economic efficiency and somewhat greater social justice; this is the doctrine of Gorbachev's perestroyka. These are the two main positions in the current political situation. There is a considerable difference between them. However, there is also a resemblance between them. And this semblance stems from the identity of the political language. The strange thing is that we now have 200 parties, two radically opposed positions, and a single political language. This strangeness lies in the fact that not even those who advocate restoration are able to speak another political language than those who want to prolong the spirit of the revolution, because another political language that will clearly affirm that socialism or communism had positive elements that should be preserved would lead to bankruptcy from a political and electoral point of view; under such conditions an automatically demagogic language is used. They talk about a reform that they do not implement; they talk about radical changes that are completely insufficient; they talk about a road to the market economy, but do not know how to preserve as much as possible of the socialist structures; they talk about separation of powers in the state and do not know how best to blend executive, legislative, and judicial power.

Certainly, there are nuances within these two positions, as in politics, in life, and not just in literature; nuances often play a very important role.

[Dobrescu] To return to my question, what differences do you see between your party and the other formations belonging to the Convention?

[Manolescu] Generally speaking, we are very close to the position of certain parties, such as the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party and the National Liberal Party, that is, the historic parties. However, there are also important differences. There are, I should say, nostalgic elements in the program and, so to speak, in the political sensitivity of these parties that have a long-standing tradition behind them, and for which it is very difficult to part from their past.

The Civic Alliance Party is a new party that has ensued under the post-revolution conditions in a country that has emerged from 40 years of communism and is trying to capitalize on this very potential in a more realistic way. I have repeatedly been asked whether the Civic Alliance Party can be compared with any parties of Western democracies. Each time I answered that it should be compared with the parties that emerged after the "velvet" revolution or other events that occurred in Eastern and Central European countries. We cannot compare ourselves with the Christian democratic or republican parties in other countries. Conditions are completely different. We may, possibly, compare ourselves with the Czechoslovak Civic Forum, with Mazowiecki's party, or with the Liberal Democratic Party of Hungary. The leftist and rightist notions have no meaning in our case. When the National Unity Party of Romania self-proclaims that it is a rightist party, you immediately realize that rightist, leftist, and center turns upside down in the minds of the voters and it becomes even risky to make such statements any more. Therefore, I prefer to say that the Civic Alliance Party is not a party without an ideology, because there is no party without an ideology. In any case, it is a party that will never place ideology above realities, meaning that it will never place the cart before the horse. It is a party that will try to solve people's problems before imposing ideological issues on them. Pragmatism and realism are absolutely necessary: They are as necessary as water and air.

Opposition Leader Cornea Interviewed

PM1707115791 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 15 Jul 91 p 12

[Interview with Romanian opposition figure Doina Cornea by Kjell Olaf Jensen in Bucharest, date not given; first paragraph is ARBEIDERBLADET introduction]

[Text] Bucharest—For a few weeks Doina Cornea, professor of French at Cluj University, acted as a guarantor for the new National Salvation Front government in Romania. Today she is the figurehead of the democratic opposition. Together with other intellectuals she has persuaded the Council of Europe to demand democratization in Romania before the Council grants Romania observer status.

[Jensen] Doina Cornea, immediately after Whitsun enormous quantities of documents were uncovered which proved that the regime is still ruling with the help of Securitate.

[Cornea] That was nothing new. The SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] security service is simply a part of the old Securitate, which is continuing as before. The

regime must hide the truth: that the population is still under surveillance. The opposition does not want to cooperate with the government until it clarifies what happened during the "miners'" violence in June last year. The economic crisis is less important than the crisis of truth the authorities have created.

[Jensen] But does the opposition have any political alternative to offer?

[Cornea] The government says "no," but it would be easy to find someone to take over. The Liberal Radu Copeanu would be greatly preferable to President Ion Iliescu. Our tradition is one of constitutional monarchy, with the king as a guarantee that the constitution is respected.

[Jensen] Has the opposition already played its international card?

[Cornea] We are probably in the process of losing this card. Western governments seem as if they accept the regime's explanations. Our leaders have deceived the people through manipulation, on television, for example—they were not elected to kill people in the streets or to cover up Securitate's misdeeds! Any alternative would be preferable—we have many experts who have not compromised themselves.

[Jensen] What about you?

[Cornea] I do not know enough, I am no longer young, and I am controversial.

[Jensen] You are described as Romania's most maligned person.

[Cornea] The slander campaign continues. I receive anonymous death threats almost every day. I have them on my telephone answering machine. A few nights ago the whole tape was filled by a man who uttered the most awful threats—he clearly ran out of threats in the end! I am no Vaclav Havel—I have most of my support among the young.

[Jensen] What sort of threats were they?

[Cornea] "You owe us $10,000 which you promised us when we took part in demonstrations," he said. He threatened my life. I have been listening to him for years.

[Jensen] The intellectual section of the opposition has come together in the Citizens' Alliance—what sort of movement is it?

[Cornea] The intellectuals formed the Group for Social Dialogue in 1990 when we were discussing whether we should enter politics or simply comment on it. I think it is a mistake to remain outside. Immediately after the revolution we accepted the National Salvation Front. Many people were influenced by people who were perhaps working for it—and who eased the well-known intellectuals out of political life. That was how the communists took power in the years leading up to 1950; they crushed the nation's conscience and attacked faith. Now the same sort of thing is happening. In Czechoslovakia and Poland intellectuals are entering politics, whereas we are being manipulated. Now the intellectuals are beginning to awake—the Citizens' Alliance will now become a political party. The National Salvation Front wants to surprise the opposition, perhaps by suddenly holding elections—we must be ready.

[Jensen] How would an election this year go?

[Cornea] The parties have united against totalitarianism. The regime responds by creating a false, extremist opposition, which is the government's partner in the political game. The real opposition is accused of being fascists, Legionnaires, Iron Guardists (fascist movements between the wars), whereas it is the government's supporters—who make the accusations—who fit the description! If the regime does not win the election they can rely on the whole Securitate network, and they will probably be saved by the parties at the extremes of the political spectrum. I have never seen President Iliescu or Prime Minister Roman speak out against anti-Semitism—we are the ones who react, and we are the ones they accuse of anti-Semitism! In Transylvania, where two million Hungarians live, the regime exploits the conflict to the maximum. At a celebration on 1 July 1990 the prime minister incited the population of the town of Alba Julia against the Hungarian minority's party as soon as this party's representative began to speak. People had been brought in in buses and trucks by the government to whistle down the Hungarians who were loyally taking part in the celebration.

[Jensen] Does the regime control Securitate or does Securitate control the regime?

[Cornea] They are dependent on each other. We must stop the regime from forcing new and impossible laws on Parliament. The draft constitution's 13th paragraph says that the Office of the Procurator must decide everything within the legal system. When I was questioned by the Office of the Procurator they already knew at the beginning of the investigation what sentence I would receive! According to the draft constitution, you have to go to the Office of the Procurator if you want to carry out an investigation involving the following activities: "intercepting communications," "acquiring documentary evidence by gaining access to places to which access is normally denied," "removing a document or object and replacing it, examining it, and acquiring the information it contains," "acquiring such information using any means," "installing items, servicing them, and removing them again."

I have proof that my telephone is bugged, in accordance with this paragraph of the draft constitution that has not yet been adopted! I receive letters that have obviously been opened, and I believe that there are letters which have gone astray. I have submitted this material to the Council of Europe. On the other hand, official letters and threatening letters arrive safely, unopened. A letter from the German ambassador arrived recently in an envelope

which had in part been torn to pieces and which the regime's people had tried to stick back together again....

We are an exhausted people. We lack that which grows out of a sense of community and out of a love of the truth that is stronger than the love of oneself. We had a chance immediately after the revolution, but were manipulated. Throughout Eastern Europe it was communists and neocommunists who first got their hands on power after the first revolution, which presumably was controlled by the KGB. But in other countries the people did not allow themselves to be fooled.

Marculescu Appointed Interim Agriculture Minister

AU1707155991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1452 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/7/1991—The Romanian prime minister appointed on Wednesday [17 July] Engineer Petru Marculescu secretary of state and interim minister of agriculture and food.

Petru Marculescu, 47, graduated from the Nicolae Balcescu Agronomic Institute in Bucharest in 1967 and took post-graduate courses of agricultural economy at the Academy of Economic Sciences. For 23 years he was employed by producer farming units and has been a director at the Agriculture and Food Ministry for the past year.

In a statement to ROMPRES, Mr. Marculescu mentioned among his priorities the full implementation of the land law and the introduction as quickly as possible of several laws—on land lease, cadastre, credits and taxation in agriculture—"all of which are of great importance for the future of agriculture," the minister said.

Federal

Mesic Views 18 Jul Presidency Session

LD1707190591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Brioni, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—The session of the SFRY Presidency will start at 1400 [1200 GMT] tomorrow in Belgrade, said Stjepan Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency, at a press conference in Brioni this afternoon.

Also invited to attend the session, apart from the members of the Presidency, are the presidents of the SFRY assembly and the Federal Executive Council, as well as the Federal secretaries for national defense, internal and foreign affairs. The agenda will be somewhat modified, he said, compared to the one announced for the Brioni session which never took place.

The Presidency is also expected to examine tomorrow—as Mesic predicted—Slovenia's proposals for resolving the situation in this republic. Apart from that, the Presidency is expected—as envisaged in the previous agenda—to reach an agreement on the implementation of the decision on the demobilization of all armed formations on SFRY territory, except the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and regular peacetime police forces, as well as on the implementation of the Brioni Declaration. The members of the collective head of state are also planning to examine the implementation of the decisions of the Presidency of 9 July concerning the situation in Croatia, including the involvement of the YPA units, in keeping with its constitutional and legal jurisdiction.

Asked the reason for holding the session in Belgrade, Mesic replied that nothing particular has happened, but added that he thinks that "these four will realize that the blockade of the State Presidency would only be harmful to everybody." This is no concession at all, Mesic said, announcing that all members of the Presidency present in Brioni today will attend the session in Belgrade.

Asked whether Croatia would support Slovenia's proposal for "resolving the problems with the YPA in Slovenia," Mesic replied that "Croatia will support the efforts directed at the YPA's departure from both Slovenia and Croatia." To return to its barracks or to withdraw from these two republics was an additional question, to which Mesic replied: "To return to its barracks, but if Borisav Jovic's and Branko Kostic's proposal is that the Army should withdraw from Slovenia, our response is that it cannot withdraw only from Slovenia, but also from Croatia, because our decisions are identical."

Stressing that the Presidency is the supreme commander, Mesic assessed: "The Army has not yet undertaken anything against Presidency decisions." It is a different matter that the conflict in Slovenia broke out at the time when the Presidency was not constituted, Mesic said. He then emphasized that "the Army must listen to the supreme commander, because otherwise it would act outside legal institutions."

In the case of a military coup, the president of the SFRY Presidency noted, the world would treat differently both the Army and Yugoslavia. "What would then happen to the Army is clear, because it cannot be a referee".

"Is tomorrow's session in Belgrade yet another defeat for Croatia's policy?" a journalist asked. Mesic replied that "this has nothing to do with Croatia's policy." This, in his view, is a defeat for the state Presidency, which could not meet for the past two days and a defeat which shows "how serious some members are at the time when the country is on the verge of collapse."

We must talk, "even if talks are unsuccessful and fruitless," Mesic holds. He then went on to note that "war has unfortunately broken out, which some would have to take into account, and precisely those who are blocking the state Presidency." Following Slovenia's and Croatia's decision on dissociation, Yugoslavia is not what it used to be, Mesic is convinced. It is an internationally recognized entity and it is functioning, but there is also the process of dissociation, which means that accounts will be settled.

"It would be good if everyone does this, because settled accounts would lead to good relations," Mesic said. Asked why he is still president of the SFRY Presidency in this situation, he said: "What do you think, what chaos would prevail in Yugoslavia if there were no Presidency?" According to Mesic, those who want the disintegration of the Presidency "are wishing for hundreds and thousands of deaths, and we want to prevent that."

"If we persevere in our stand that the Army should return to barracks, the Chetniks will sooner go back to where they had come from, and as soon as they leave, the Serbs and Croats will resume communication," because the conflicts, Mesic holds, have been staged. The next three months should be used for negotiations on the future order in Yugoslavia, in accordance with the Brioni Declaration, which should be the topic of an extended session of the Presidency. "However, some are obviously evasive and refuse to discuss the essence of the problem," Mesic said and expressed his conviction that international and domestic public opinion will influence everyone to feel compelled to negotiate.

At the end of the press conference, Mesic was asked the following question: "Will something change in the Serbia's policy before the arrival of Crown Prince Karadjordjevic on 9 August?" "I do not know whether this can change anything," Mesic replied; "however, Karadjordjevic's statements, which I heard, are statements of a sensible democratically oriented gentlemen, and it would be good if some responsible politicians in Serbia would think in the same way."

Kostic Comments on Presidency Sessions

AU1707205891 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Interview with Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency by a Belgrade Television reporter in Belgrade on 17 July—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Comrade Vice President, according to a statement made by Stjepan Mesic on Brioni today, as TANJUG reports, he said there is no excuse whatsoever for the four members of the SFRY Presidency who are in Belgrade not to come on Brioni.

[Kostic] This is where the problem lies, in that Mr. Mesic does not see what the essence of the problem is and that in addition to all the his duties as president of the SFRY Presidency, he is forgetting under what conditions he was elected as president of the Presidency. He is forgetting that as president of the Presidency he is the first among eight equals and that he cannot convene sessions without a previous agreement with us.

Finally, his insistence that regular working sessions of the Presidency—the sessions that should be held daily, perhaps several times a day, considering the seriousness of the situation—be held on Brioni is really absurd. Mr. Mesic should finally return to Belgrade. This is where his working office is, and this is where the talks should begin.

[Reporter] According to the rules governing the Presidency, he has the right to call a session wherever he wants. Is this not so?

[Kostic] Yes, it is.

[Reporter] In a communique carried by TANJUG, however, you stated today that Mesic could endanger the work of the SFRY Presidency by his behavior. What did you have in mind?

[Kostic] First of all, he can call a session of the Presidency wherever he wants. If, however, he had assumed that moving the venue of the Presidency could cause disagreement among its members, or at least the number of members whose absence could jeopardize the work of the Presidency, then he should have first obtained their consent. Without this consent, then he cannot call such a session there.

I do not know what else...

[Reporter] What do you say to the fact that Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic did not go to Brioni yesterday, but instead went there today?

[Kostic] There could be several reasons for this. I sincerely hope that their wish and intention is to persuade Mr. Mesic through direct talks to finally act as his duties as president of the Presidency require him to. This means that he should come to Belgrade and that we should start working here, especially because of the complexity of the situation. This is really not the time to sit in Brioni and discuss things that are changing from hour to hour.

[Reporter] This is one reason. What is the other?

[Kostic] The other reason is perhaps a result of their tactics, a wish not to take sides with a bloc that is continuously being talked about with regard to Serbia and Montenegro. This could also be a wish to isolate in this way some members of the Presidency and again present Serbia and Montenegro as the ones blocking the Presidency's work. I would not be prepared to nor would I like to claim that this is the main motive and reason, however. I believe that the first reason is more likely.

[Reporter] Mr. Vice President, how do you think Europe, that is, the EC, will react to the events of the last two days, to the fact that the Presidency has not been meeting in the full complement?

[Kostic] I think the gentlemen from the EC will see that what I said when we were electing Mr. Mesic is correct, namely that the election of Mr. Mesic as president is neither the main nor essential problem that we have to deal with. I personally think they will not be surprised because they are already aware of the complexity of the problem with which we are dealing here in Yugoslavia in resolving the crisis. Since they as the mission, on behalf of the entire European Community, gave the guarantees, and I can say exerted extremely strong pressure for Mr. Mesic to be elected, I personally expect that they will also intervene and apply pressure on Mr. Mesic to behave as president of the Presidency in the real sense and not as a president who has all the power in his hands, which he could have in a presidential system but not in a collective head of state.

[Reporter] Have you been in contact with any of the members of the observers mission? The mission, I believe, is in Yugoslavia.

[Kostic] I have not yet been able to contact the members of the observers mission that arrived, I think, yesterday.

[Reporter] Could you tell me at the end of this conversation whether the SFRY Presidency can guarantee the full implementation of one of its most important conclusions from its last session, namely the disarmament of paramilitary formations? This deadline expires tomorrow at 2400 [2200 GMT]

[Kostic] The Presidency's guarantee regarding the implementation of these decisions, especially the first point of the conclusion on the disarmament of paramilitary formations, was one of the reasons why I had serious reservations about it in the Presidency. I held and still hold the view that the implementation of this is unrealistic. Such a conclusion existed in the Presidency since 9 May, when I was not yet a member of the Presidency.

Since we are making conclusions and stands and obligations, I am personally in favor of standing behind what we can realistically implement. We, as the Presidency,

could honor this guarantee, but in what way? To give a free hand to the Yugoslav People's Army to use all its firepower and force and throw Slovenia to its knees in two or three days time?

I am not in favor of this option. I favor conditions being created for bringing this peace process to its conclusion, because it is in the interest of Europe and the rest of the world that we should solve these problems in a peaceful way. Therefore, I do not favor sending thousands more young men to Slovenia. I do not favor causing numerous civilian casualties and enormous destruction there by showing the strength of our Army, which is formidable.

In any case, if the Slovene leadership and authorities continue to avoid the fulfillment of the obligations contained in the Brioni declaration and threaten the lives of the members of the Yugoslav People's Army in Slovenia, we will have to make very specific decisions in the shortest possible time. In this case, I would be more inclined that we, as the supreme command, think about a temporary territorial relocation of these units to other places in Yugoslavia than to give a free hand to the Yugoslav People's Army to solve this by force. If we reach a peace agreement, and if the result of this agreement is that Slovenia is staying as a part of Yugoslavia, then we will send these units back there. Or, if the result of this peace agreement is that Slovenia will finally be outside Yugoslavia, then there will of course be no need to send these units back.

[Reporter] Thank you for this conversation.

Jovic Assails President Mesic's Performance

LD1707171691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—"Mr. Mesic is obviously performing the duties of the SFRY Presidency President unsuccessfully," SFRY Presidency member Borisav Jovic said in a statement sent to TANJUG.

Yesterday's session with republican presidents, i.e. presidents of republican Presidencies, the statement goes on to say, failed because he, as the president, did not hold prior consultations with them to reach an agreement on the time and place for the session, which is customary practice. The administrative and bureaucratic invitation sent to them is obviously a legacy that in such circumstances has to be abandoned.

Mr. Mesic also ruined an attempt by the group of six Presidency members who had managed to reach an agreement with all republican presidents for a session to be held in Ohrid the very same evening, because he refused to accept such a solution, the statement says.

At the same time he refused to accept a specific request made by six Presidency members to return to Belgrade, where they all were, and where the presidents of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and the Assembly were, including the three Federal secretaries who are taking part in the work of the Presidency. He kept insisting that they should all come to Brioni, which is not acceptable.

Jovic's statement goes on to say that Mr. Mesic persisted in being spiteful, by calling a regular session of the SFRY Presidency for 1100 today on Brioni, although all Presidency and FEC members and Assembly leaders are in Belgrade. The SFRY Presidency president is not really capable of materializing his ideas if he does not have the consent of the majority of the Presidency members, regardless of what he thinks himself. In this concrete example, if a majority of the Presidency members do not agree to the Presidency session being held outside the seat of the Presidency, then it cannot take place.

It is naive to think that such tricks will persuade people that SFRY Presidency members from Serbia and Montenegro are boycotting the Presidency's work. On the contrary, the statement says, they keep insisting on holding the session and are constantly at the seat of the SFRY Presidency. I would like to remind Mr. Mesic of the conditions under which he was elected and to warn him to stop causing damage with his moves, the statement says in conclusion.

Bogicevic, Tupurkovski Comment on Session

LD1707160691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Brioni, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—The blockade of the work of the SFRY Presidency is an irresponsible and untenable act, Presidency members Bogic Bogicevic and Vasil Tupurkovski said in a statement that they distributed to journalists on Brioni. At the same time they stressed that they are ready to fully shoulder their possible responsibility for the blockade of the Presidency's work. The statement says:

"Being aware of the dramatic situation in the country, and the increasingly clear move toward war and the use of force, instead of finding a peaceful resolution to the crisis, we consider the latest blockade of the SFRY Presidency's work an irresponsible and untenable act.

"This blockade has been caused by the violations of agreements and obligations and by divisions within the SFRY Presidency. The reasons why the SFRY Presidency is unable to function normally and to exercise a constructive influence on the negative escalation of the crisis are as follows: refusal of the SFRY Presidency member from Slovenia to take part in the work of the SFRY Presidency; violation of an agreement that a session of the SFRY Presidency be held on Brioni on 15 July 1991, reached by SFRY Presidency members from Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo and Crna Gora; and the insistence of the SFRY Presidency that it should at all costs be held on Brioni.

"We refuse to accept such behavior and the intentional blockade of the SFRY Presidency's work.

"We are calling on the SFRY Presidency president and vice president to immediately reach an agreement on the resumption of work of the SFRY Presidency; all members of the Presidency should accept that, and a session of the SFRY Presidency should be urgently convened with all its members in attendance to adopt decisions enabling a peaceful and democratic denouement and implementation of our obligations stemming from the Brioni agreements.

"We made efforts in Belgrade yesterday with a view to holding the convened session in Brioni. Today on Brioni we are making efforts to insure that the SFRY Presidency can resume its work.

"We are ready to shoulder in full all our possible responsibility for the latest blockade of the SFRY Presidency.

"Unless the SFRY Presidency session is held immediately with all its members in attendance, we shall make public our decisions on our position within the SFRY Presidency."

Bajramovic Criticizes Presidency Members' Behavior

LD1707230591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency member Sejdo Bajramovic told Belgrade television that he believes that "Presidency members must not behave like that because our workers have not received their minimum personal income for four months while we decide to go for a walk. For all intents and purposes, a civil war has begun in Yugoslavia. Slovenia has declared war on the Yugoslav People's Army and, in general, on Yugoslavia."

Asked to comment on the fact that a session of the SFRY Presidency has not taken place and answering the question whether the Yugoslav Presidency is in a position to guarantee implementation of their decision for paramilitary formations in the country to be disarmed (the deadline expires at 2400 hours), Bajramovic said:

"The Presidency should meet as a matter of urgency and hold a nonstop session, in view of the situation in the country. Regarding the adoption of decisions, I intervened during a session and asked Presidency members not to adopt any decisions until the implementatoion of these decisions has been assured. If the disarmament of paramiltary formation and of everything we have had so far is implemented then our task will have been fulfilled, and we will have peace; if not, no one can guarantee peace," Sejdo Bajramovic told Belgrade television.

FEC Demands Urgent Presidency Session

LD1707144791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1247 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—At its session today the Federal Executive Council [FEC] discussed the current situation in the country with special emphasis on the implementation of the Brioni Declaration. On this occasion the FEC expressed its dissatisfaction with the failure to hold an expanded session of the Yugoslav Presidency, which was to take place at the government's initiative.

In a statement issued after the session the Federal Secretariat for Information says that the FEC demands an urgent session of the Presidency of Yugoslavia with the presidents of the republics and other republican leaders and representatives of the federal organs to continue the search for peaceful solutions, to ensure the functioning of the economy and of the system and its institutions during the moratorium, and to embark on talks about future relations in Yugoslavia.

The FEC notes that the moratorium, which implies the suspension of documents passed by the assemblies of Slovenia and Croatia, an end to clashes, and the restoration of peace throughout the country, the preservation of existing external and internal borders, the disarming of illegal armed formations, and the demobilization of all additionally mobilized armed formations is not being implemented thus making the already difficult situation in the country even more dramatic. The decisions contained in the moratorium, endorsed not just by the Presidency of Yugoslavia but also by the European Twelve and the wider international community through the Brioni Declaration, have become Yugoslavia's international obligations.

The latest declaration by the seven most developed countries, adopted in London yesterday, calls on all the protagonists in the Yugoslav crisis to refrain from using force and to start peaceful negotiations about the future life in the country. At the same time, the west has linked its economic assistance with the normalization of the political situation in the country and with an end to armed clashes.

In view of the above stands and its 20-day-old initiative for a political summit, the FEC came to the conclusion that FEC President Ante Markovic and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar should attend the session of the Yugoslavia Presidency in Brioni, which is expected to create conditions for a peaceful solution to the crisis and for an expanded session of the Yugoslav Presidency to discuss future relations in the country.

Presidency Session Begins; All Members Attend

LD1807133391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—An SFRY Presidency session began at 1400 [1200 GMT] in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade. According to the SFRY Presidency Information Office, the session is being attended by all the members of the collective head of state.

In addition to the Presidency members, the session is also being attended by the president of the Federal Executive Council, the vice president of the SFRY

Assembly, the Federal secretary for national defense and his deputy, the Federal secretary for internal affairs, and the deputy Federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The Presidency is expected to discuss the implementation of its 12 July decision which provides for, among other things, the demobilization of all armed formations on the SFRY territory except the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] and regular peace-time police units. Reference will also be made to the implementation of the Brioni Declaration.

Under the agenda the Presidency will also discuss the implementation of its 9 May conclusions regarding the situation in Croatia, including the deployment of YPA units in accordance with the YPA's constitutional and legal role.

The Presidency will also consider a letter by the Slovene Assembly addressed to the Assemblies of all Yugoslav republics containing proposals for regulating relations in the light of Slovenia's decision on dissociation.

Council Proposes Permanent Presidency Session

LD1707195191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—In order to create conditions for negotiations on the resolution of the Yugoslav state and political crisis, the Supreme State Council of the Republic of Croatia has proposed that the Federal Presidency be in session permanently and in full composition in Belgrade. This is one of the conclusions from today's session of the Supreme State Council, which—as revealed—considered measures regarding conclusions of an expanded session of the SFRY Presidency and the accord with the EC, as well as the formation of a crisis headquarters and the reconstruction of the government.

At the beginning of the session, President Tudjman briefed the Council on talks which he had with General Veljko Kadijevic [Federal secretary for national defense] this morning. A statement from the session of the Supreme State Council stresses that the Federal secretary for national defense reiterated that the Army will respect any political solution reached in a peaceful manner and that it will not leave Croatia. In order to stabilize the situation, President Tudjman stressed that the Croatian Government will prevent arbitrary attacks on military personnel and objects by angry citizens, who, as a result of the conduct of some local commanders, are increasingly seeing the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] as an army of occupation. The Croatian security forces will, however, respond to any YPA attack.

The statement further says that the talks drew attention to the readiness of the Army authorities to reach an agreement with the Croatian authorities as to conditions for the withdrawal of the Army to the barracks and in order to defuse the situation. If such an agreement—also reached with the EC—is not implemented, Croatia will not consider itself obliged to further freeze the Assembly decisions.

The Council strongly opposed some initiatives by the Serbian representatives in the Presidency whereby the YPA should completely withdraw from Slovenia so that most of these forces are then stationed in Croatia. Solutions to the crisis which include the problem of the Army must be comprehensive, the Council said.

The complex security situation in the Republic calls for more efficient activities in crisis conditions. In this respect the Council proposed the setting up of a crisis headquarters on the republican, regional and municipal levels which would coordinate and direct defense preparations and activities in republics. The proposed members of the crisis headquarters are: Premier Josip Manolic, Ministers Sime Djodan and Onesin Cvitan, Commander of the National Guard Martin Spegelj, Deputy Minister Slavko Degoricija, Minister for Emigration Gojko Susak, Commander of the Civil Protection Headquarters Josip Slunjski and the president's advisers Branko Salaj and Zdravko Mustac.

In the interest of increased efficiency in complex economic and security conditions the president of the Republic gave a mandate for the reconstruction of the government to Vice President Franjo Greguric, the statement says.

Republics React to Central Bank Decision on Dinar

LD1707133191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1219 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Croatia has refused to implement a decision by the board of governors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBY) that dinar stocks in the national banks of republics and provinces be reduced, and has usurped money from the treasury in its territory, as the Belgrade daily POLITIKA said today.

The National Bank of Slovenia has begun to return ready money, in keeping with the NBY board of governor decision, the daily close to the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia, set out. However, Slovenia has already taken steps to issue its own currency so as to secure itself if the dinar was 'spoiled' in other Federal units, POLITIKA said.

It has been decided that dinar stocks in treasuries of the republican and provincial national banks be reduced

from 90 to 62 billion dinars (from around 6.9 to 4.7 billion German marks) to prevent certain republics from 'spoiling' the Yugoslav currency and enabling their survival until the issuing of their own currency, as NBY Governor Dusan Vlatkovic has told POLITIKA.

The NBY has precise plans for the protection of money, gold and technology of printing bank notes, Vlatkovic said, adding that physical possibilities existed to prevent the 'spoiling' of the Yugoslav currency in war conditions as well.

Army Claims Slovenia Violating Brioni Declaration

LD1707161691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1400 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 17 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) today again accused Slovenia's leadership of "constantly making provocations and violating all agreements and the Brioni Declaration, thus making it abundantly clear that it does not actually care for peace and a peaceful settlement of the crisis."

A statement released by the information service of the Ljubljana corps says that the "power supply and telephone lines are again and without reason being cut off" at the military facilities in Ljubljana and some other garrisons.

The Maribor Garrison Command also released a statement today, calling on JNA troops who have willfully left their units to return. "You Army deserters—do not permit that you be made deserters by coercion and under the influence of propaganda," the statement says.

The statement expresses understanding for the psychological and physical traumas suffered by the soldiers.

The JNA and the Slovenian Territorial Defence engaged in armed clashes after Slovenia"s unilateral proclamation of independence on June 25.

During and after the clashes, some soldiers left their units. Of those who have subsequently returned, some have said that their commanding officers—Slovenes and Croats—had ordered them to surrender.

Casualty Figures Since Start of Year Reported

LD1707141691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1955 GMT 16 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—During the course of this year, 315 people have died in Yugoslavia in interethnic armed conflicts, and more than 500 people have been wounded. Those who died and who were wounded in the recent clashes between the Slovene Territorial Defense and the units of the Yugoslav People's Army, have not been taken into account. If we do not take these events in Slovenia into account, there have been more than 155 "local" armed conflicts in the country this year.

This is what Belgrade television reported in its evening news ("Dnevnik") quoting Yugoslav newspapers.

There are significant losses on the side of the armed forces who were in conflicts with the Army, but there is no precise information on this, the Belgrade television reported.

The television assessed that various armed units in the country, excluding the Yugoslav People's Army, amount to 195,000 to 200,000 people, of which there are 100,000 in Croatia, 55,000 in Slovenia, 20,000 in Knin Krajina, and around 20,000 in other parts of the country.

Air Force Chief Warns Against Croatian Attacks

LD1707131991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1143 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—The information office of the Yugoslav Air Force today issued a statement saying that at 1855 yesterday in the region of Jasenovac, Croatian armed formations fired an anti-aircraft missile at a Super Galeb aircraft of the Yugoslav Air Force. Owing to his exceptional bravery and skill the pilot avoided the missile and continued his flight as planned, the statement stresses.

This action has seriously endangered air safety over Croatia which has automatically resulted in a ban on all air traffic in this section of Yugoslav air space.

This is yet another in a series of examples which confirm that the leaders of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] and their armed formations are consciously violating the SFRY Presidency decisions. They will be held solely responsible for any human casualties and material damage resulting from possible counteractions by the Air Force as pointed out by Lieutenant Colonel General Zvonko Jurjevic, commander of the Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense, in his recent warning.

Reservists End Three-Day Pancevo Protest

LD1707174191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Pancevo, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—About 500 military reservists and Pancevo citizens today ended their three-day rally of dissatisfaction when the reservists left for their units.

Dissatisfied reservists, in the presence of their relatives, spoke about exceptionally difficult conditions under which they, as Yugoslav People's Army reservists, are carrying out their tasks. They vented their anger by breaking into Pancevo Municipality President Nikola Zec's office.

The situation calmed down later and talks started in the Municipal Assembly in the presence of Army representatives. Since reservists received all necessary explanations, it was agreed that new reservists will replace them. The protesting reservists, after passions calmed and the

revolt subsided, returned to their units, explaining that they want to replace reservists who stayed at their combat posts in the past few days.

Army Planes Reported Overflying Slovene Territory

AU1707123791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1100 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Numerous telephone calls by our listeners from some Slovene towns in the last hour mention overflights of military planes. The Information Center in Maribor has confirmed that just after 1200 [1000 GMT] a Yugoslav Army plane flew over Maribor and dropped a flare [sredstvo za zavajanje protiletalskih izstrelkov]. The Information Center in Maribor also reports that there is no reason for anxiety.

Several listeners have reported about the overflights of airplanes in the wider Domzale area. The authorized organs have confirmed the overflights. There is no reason for anxiety.

International

Complaint Over Albanian Aspirations Sent to UN

LD1707230291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2133 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] United Nations, July 17 (TANJUG)—Albania's leadership is using the current situation in Yugoslavia to realize its aspirations towards Yugoslav territories populated by ethnic Albanians, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat said in a statement sent to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The message was handed to Perez de Cuellar by Yugoslavia's permanent mission with the United Nations in New York.

The statement comes in response to a letter Albanian President Ramiz Alia sent to the heads of states and governments of the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

The Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat said Albania was by its position on the situation in Yugoslavia openly inciting a rebellion in Kosovo with the aim of obstructing efforts for the crisis in Yugoslavia to be resolved in a democratic manner.

The Yugoslav message has been granted the status of an official request for the issue to be placed on the agenda of the regular session of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Moratorium Said 'Dramatizing' Situation

LD1707201491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1821 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—At its session in Belgrade today, the government of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic established that the moratorium (on the implementation of the decisions of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia to become independent of Yugoslavia) was still further dramatizing the already difficult situation in Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Government's Information Secretariat said today.

A statement released from the Federal Government's session today recalls that the provisions of the moratorium, which have been accepted by the Presidency of Yugoslavia and which have won the support of the European Twelve and the broader international community with the drafting of the Brioni Declaration, have become Yugoslavia's international commitment.

The statement recalls that the three-month moratorium envisages for suspending the implementation of the documents adopted by the assemblies of Slovenia and Croatia, ending all conflicts and establishing peace throughout the country, retaining the existing (?external) borders, disarming the illegitimately armed formations and demobilizing the reservists.

The statement further says that the declaration adopted by the seven industrialized Western states (G7) in London yesterday demands of all sides involved in the Yugoslav crisis to refrain from resorting to force and to open talks in peace on the future of the country.

The statement emphasizes that the West's economic assistance is being made conditional on a normalization of the political situation in Yugoslavia and ending of armed clashes.

The Federal Government goes on to express dissatisfaction with the failure to convene an enlarged session of the Presidency of Yugoslavia which it had initiated, and insists that it be held immediately.

The statement says that the enlarged Presidency session would continue the effort for finding peaceful solutions, enabling the functioning of the economy, the system and its institutions for the duration of the moratorium, and opening talks on future relations in Yugoslavia.

Italian Delegation Issues Statement

LD1707205191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1654 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Parliament, led by Flaminio Piccoli, Chairman of the Chamber's Foreign Political Commission, visited the Republic of Slovenia today.

As reported by the information service of the Slovene Assembly, the delegation had talks with a Slovene

Assembly delegation led by Matjaz Sinkovec, Chairman of the International Relations Commission. "The topic of conversation covered the situation in Slovenia and the Yugoslav crisis and the need for its internationalization. The Slovene Assembly delegates briefed their guests on the Republic of Slovenia's efforts to have the crisis resolved peacefully and on its resolve to achieve autonomy and independence," says the statement.

"The Italian Parliamentary delegation expressed its understanding for the Republic of Slovenia's efforts and its support for these endeavors, but in so doing stressed the need for Slovenia also to take note of the interests of other republics in Yugoslavia. Flaminio Piccoli said that despite some isolated views the view prevails in Italy that in the new situation in connection with the proclamation of Slovenia's independence, the Osimo Accords still remain in force and that Italy will comply with them in the future as well," says the statement.

"Flaminio Piccoli said that the Italian Parliament supports the Republic of Slovenia's independence process, and also agrees with the idea and with a community of sovereign states whose basis is the acceptance of the independence of the component parts of this community," says the statement.

Army Daily: FRG, CSFR Sent Arms to Slovenia

LD1707105591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0937 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG) - Germany and Czechoslovakia delivered arms to the Republic of Slovenia, which wants to secede from the Yugoslav Federation, the Yugoslav Defence Ministry paper NARODNA ARMIJA writes today.

NARODNA ARMIJA says that experts of the German Defence Ministry trained members of the Slovenian Territorial Defence to use the weapons and even serviced anti-tank and anti-aircraft defence systems during the clashes with the Yugoslav People's Army.

The paper writes that Slovenian government officials on several occasions negotiated with the German defence minister last March and April on arms deliveries to the republic, especially anti-aircraft and anti-tank defence missile systems.

A secret contract on the delivery of German anti-tank 'Armbrust' systems was signed in May with the mediation of the Rita Draxler firm, which was represented by Helmut Weisser, NARODNA ARMIJA writes.

The Army paper specifies that the German Defence Ministry said its experts would train the Slovenian police and Territorial Defence to use the system.

'During the armed clashes in Slovenia, provoked by the unilateral acts on the republic's secession, the imported anti-tank and anti-aircraft defence systems were used from June 27 to July 4. They were also manned by ten German experts', the paper writes.

In mid-July, the German Defence Ministry denied the TANJUG correspondent report on shipments of 'Armbrust' anti-tank missile systems, pointing out that such weapons are not in use in the German armed forces.

A Ministry spokesman, nevertheless, added that he 'could not speak on behalf of the German industry'.

NARODNA ARMIJA adds that the Slovenian Government contracted the delivery of 'Arrow 2M' (SAM-7) anti-aircraft missile systems at a meeting with the Czechoslovak Defence Ministry representatives in March.

The Czechoslovak firm Omnipol was the mediator and its representaive Karel Noheil, also offered to Slovenia 40-barelled RM-70 'Fire' rocket launchers and AT-8 anti-tank missiles, NARODNA ARMIJA writes.

Croation President Departs for Visit to Germany

LD1807092891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman left this morning for a two-day visit to Germany at the invitation of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Asked what Chancellor Kohl's invitation meant for Croatia, the Croatian president said that it implied, above all, recognition of the serious nature of the sitaution as well as an interest by both Germany and Europe in Croatia.

At Zagreb Airport, President Franjo Tudjman was seen off by Zarko Domljan, president of the Croatian Assembly; Franjo Gregovic, vice president of the Croatian Government; and ministers Davorin Rudolf and Sime Djodan.

Serbian Party Presents Views at Geneva Seminar

LD1707204891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Geneva, July 17 (TANJUG)—An expert meeting of the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) devoted to minorities continued in Geneva today with patient diplomatic "bargaining" among the delegation over the contents of the final document.

The accusations about the violations of the rights of minorities in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, which some official delegations and non-governmental organizations have directed at Serbia on account of the situation in its southern province Kosovo, were countered today with "Serbia's position."

General Secretary of the Geneva-based World Serbian Community Misa Milojevic at a meeting held as part of the unofficial programme explained that there existed no Federal unit in Yugoslavia which enjoyed state borders but only administrative borders "which cannot be an argument for the realization of republican sovereignty of secession."

Any trasfer of Federal sovereignty to the republics can only be realized by agreement between the two parties and can in no way be subject to international arbitaration, Milosevic said.

A delegation of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) in Serbia, which assembles Moslems living in that republic, at a news conference here today criticized what it called "Serbia's hegemonistic and Chetnik policy directed on the internal plane towards its non-Serb population and on a Yugoslav plane at retaining its dominant position in the country."

The SDA delegation said it had already sought the support of European institutions, the U.S. State Department and Senate in the event of Yugoslavia"s disintegration.

The Moslems of Sandzak (a region in Serbia with the highest concentration of Moslems in the republic) will demand political autonomy for the region, said Sulejman Ugljanin, president of SDA for Serbia.

Serbia Rejects World Support for Albanians

LD1707203791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1734 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Geneva, July 17 (TANJUG)—Miodrag Perisic, representative of the Republic of Serbia and member of the Yugoslav delegation at a CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) expert meeting on minorities in Geneva, today accused the ethnic Albanian opposition in the Serbian province of Kosovo of "abusing international institutions and the international public opinion."

"Under the slogan of the protection of human rights and the rights of minorities the ethnic Albanians are actually waging an undeclared war against the Serbian people and state," Perisic said, adding that the ethnic Albanian national minority in Serbia was striving to retain and expand the privileges it had been granted by Titoism.

"The international community and the democratic world will by backing the ethnic Albanians' demands enable them to be the only people in Europe with two states," Perisic said.

He emphasized that today's democratic Serbia was open to every kind of political dialogue, but not at the expense of its own people and state, as had been the case in Communist Yugoslavia.

Belgrade Daily Views U.S. Position

LD1707132291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1156 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—The United States is the only one of the 'four winning powers in World War Two which has omitted to fully define its option about the territorial integrity of the Yugoslav state, in which way it indirectly encouraged the coalition of those who had lost the war,' warns the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI in a commentary on Wednesday.

It recalls that the 'Soviets, French and English' defined their stands on Yugoslavia's territorial integrity, on the right of peoples to self-determination and on the attitude of neighbors towards Yugoslav territory.

The daily believes, however, that the U.S. 'saw the Yugoslav situation in manner which could be interpreted in more ways than one.' Thus, it cites that from the outset of the Yugoslav agony, the leaders in Washington failed to shown concern for the fate of the persecuted Serbian people on the territory of 'Democratic Croatia' and when this concern was evinced by the Yugoslav People's Army the U.S. State Department set out its stand which went beyond the line dividing diplomatic message and military ultimatum.

'This sat well with the Croatian hawks who saw in the Yugoslav Army the sole obstacle in attaining the same goal which they had 50 years ago when the U.S. and the so-called independent State of Croatia found themselves on the opposite side in the war,' concludes VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

Slovenia

Barracks Power Cuts Termed 'Insolent in Extreme'

LD1707194891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 17 (TANJUG)—The Ministry of Information of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia today said that the power supply for the commands of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) corps in Ljubljana and Maribor, the barracks at Ljubljana and Vrhnika and the military airfield at Cerklje near Brezice would remain cut "until all airports in Slovenia should be reopened".

The power supply to the military facilities has been cut off since Tuesday. The statement stresses that it will be reconnected when "traffic in the Slovene air space has been normalized".

The information service of the Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defence today pronounced itself on the cutting off of power and telephone links to the military facilities in Slovenia, describing the moves by Slovenian Defence Minister Janez Jansa and his followers as "insolent in extreme".

Slovenian Civilian Defence Headquarters has asked of the commanding officer of the 14th corps in Ljubljana, Gen. Jovan Pavlov, to "permit the taking over of the civilian defence equipment stored in the storehouses of the Yugoslav Army in the barracks at Kranj and Roje".

The Slovenian Information Ministry's statement released in this connection says that the Ljubljana corps has replied in the negative to the request and has quoted

that "individual Slovenian state organs have not met their obligations stemming from the Brioni Declaration on a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia".

The Republican Civilian Defence Headquarters has repeated its demand and has asked to be given the equipment and materiel belonging to the Republican Civilian Defence and stored in the JNA storehouses in Slovenia.

Slovene, Federal Army Forces Maintain Readiness

AU1707202791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Slobodan Kovacevic report]

[Text] Since this morning, there has been no power in the Boris Kidric and 4 July military facilities in Ljubljana, The Hero Stane Rosman in Maribor, Ivan Cankar in Vrsnica, and the Yugoslav People's Army installations in Cerklje near Brezice.

According to the Slovene Ministry of Information the power was cut and will not be restored as long as the airports in Brnik, Maribor, and Portoroz remain closed. It was not possible today to establish any kind of local or long-distance communication with any of these facilities, the largest military installations of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] on Slovene territory. This was not mentioned in the ministry's statement.

Obviously the Slovene Territorial Defense authorities were quicker than delegate Janez Kocijancic, who in the Slovene Assembly today demanded effective measures to establish—to use his own words—air traffic between Slovenia and the world. At the same time, the number of Territorial Defense members fully equipped with war gear and helmets, despite the temperature of 29 degrees Celsius, has increased near the YPA barracks and garrison. Special teams are assembling new sets of obstacles while Radio Slovenia is warning the population that Army fighter planes have been seen over Slovenia.

We have learned from reliable sources that former Army pilots—Slovene nationals, of course—were given accelerated training in Austria upon deserting to join the Jansa forces. We have learned from the same source that a convoy of trucks with antiaircraft and antitank missiles has arrived from Germany.

Some of the equipment arrived in advance in Ljubljana last night; this is perhaps because the European observers are expected to arrive soon, or perhaps because there is a possibility of a new, and this time, simultaneous attack on all Army installations, which has been widely discussed even in the Slovene Assembly.

Slovenia has today acquired its first real general. Most recently a former reserve captain, otherwise a retired schoolteacher, Janez Slapar, who had become colonel a few days before the Territorial Defense attack on the Army, has become general major as of today on the recommendation of Janez Jansa. In addition to Slapar, President Milan Kucan has given unscheduled promotions to several officers referred to as deserving, officers of the Slovene armada who have demonstrated exceptional military skills in the glorious victory over the occupation Army. Several former Army officers who had joined the Territorial Defense Forces of Slovenia have also been moved two ranks upward; their names, however were not given.

Thus the recent statement by Janez Drnovsek that no one in the world would know anything about Slovenia one month from now if it should calm down, gradually becomes clear. Thus the rattling of arms is heard again in Slovenia.

Ksrko Nuclear Power Plant Resumes Operation

AU1707104991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0800 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] The Republican Directorate for Nuclear Safety yesterday canceled a decision of 1 July ordering the immediate shutdown of Krsko Nuclear Power Plant to a cooldown state because the plant was directly threatened by overflights of military aircraft. After the Brioni Declaration was adopted and the memorandum on the activities of foreign observers signed, and taking into account the assurances given by the federal organs, the republican directorate expressed the opinion that the nuclear plant can again become active.

In accordance with the demands of the Slovene Presidency, the future operation of the plant will depend on the firm assurance by the SFRY Presidency that the violation of the international acts on nonaggression and protection of nuclear installations will not be repeated in the future.

Krsko Nuclear Power Plant was started again last night. The Republican Directorate for Nuclear Safety was given assurances by the Federal Secretariat for Energy and Industry and by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs that the inviolability and safety of Krsko Nuclear Power Plant was a constant concern of the Yugoslav Government and other authorized organs.

Document States Airports Closed Until 24 Sep

LD1707172291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—It is obvious from photocopies of flight information, the so-called 'preflight information' [rendered in English] received at every airport by a pilot prior to his flight abroad and which is issued by flight control at various airports, that the airports at Ljubljana, Maribor, and Portoroz are closed from 1200 on 26 June until the anticipated time of 1200 on 24 September this year, for technical reasons." This was reported by the Slovene Information

Ministry today, adding that "this can be seen in the information provided by Germany's flight control at its airports."

This ministry's statement says that "it is obvious that as early as 26 June the Federal organs anticipated that Slovene airports would be closed for three months and accordingly informed all the countries with which Yugoslavia has concluded air traffic bilateral agreements. The Presidency of the Slovene Republic today informed Stipe Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency, about these facts," the statement says.

FEC Urges Steps To Reopen Slovenian Airspace

LD1707224891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2043 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—At this evening's session, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] decided to send a letter to the president of the Slovene Executive Council informing him that everying is ready for reopening Slovenian airspace in line with federal regulations and the Brioni declaration. This was revelaed by the FEC Secretariat for Information.

To create conditions for the functioning of the airspace in Slovenia in line with federal regulations, it is necessary for the Slovene Territorial Defense to remove the blockade of Cerlje military airport.

A representative of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense informed the FEC of the contents of a letter sent to the EC mission in Zagreb today. The letter demands that the mission should carry out inspection in accordance with the Brioni Declaration, and thus pave the way for the Cerklje airport to be unblocked, enable the Yugosalv People's Army to go back to border posts and allow the replacement of a peacetime army force.

The FEC proposes that the president of the Slovene Executive Council should calibrate [kalibraza] Ljubljana Airport and simultaneously remove the blockade from the Cerklje military airport.

Croatia

Vice President Notes Number of Refugees

LD1707210891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Milan Brezak, Croatian deputy minister for internal affairs, stated at today's press conference that a policeman was killed early this morning. [passage omitted]

At the same conference, Bernardo Jurlina, vice president of the Croatian Government, also gave information about families which have left their homes on the territory of this republic. He said that 1,685 families with 6,070 members have left their homes. Out of that number, 5,825 are Croats, 106 Serbs, and 139 Hungarians. The largest number of people have left the municipalities of Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Vukovar, Osijek, Vinkovci, and Petrinja. Shelter was found for them in hotels, centers for social work, and other accomodations, as well as with relatives.

Jurina informed domestic and foreign journalists today that a press conference is being held in Belgrade about Serbian refugees from Croatia, which is, as he put it, "organized by the TANJUG agency." In doing so, the agency is obviously providing services for its masters, i.e. Serbia. He added that the fleeing of Serbian families is mainly organized.

Minister Warns of Looming Attack, Bloodshed

LD1707113191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0907 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Summary] Speaking at a news conference in Zagreb today, Croatian Defense Minister Sime Djodan said:

"We think that observers are needed in Croatia because there are now three armored corps targeted against Croatia—not divisions, but corps. It is a whole army, a whole armada consisting of Serbs alone, since Muslims and Croats, and some Serbs have laid down their arms. We have information that 40 percent of the Serbian soldiers and officers do not wish to shoot at the civilian population and do not wish to fight on the side of [Serbian President] Slobodan Milosevic's regime, which is the worst possible mixture of national-socialism and imperialism. We have information about everything that is being prepared, and the next four days will be the most critical. If NATO and Western Europe do not defend the Yalta line with all means available, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina will become the scene of the fiercest war imaginable. Unfortunately there will be horiffic bloodshed."

Later in the news conference Djodan was asked to clarify his statement about the critical period and to specify who will attack Croatia. Djodan replied:

"I have already said that the attack will be carried out by three armored corps—two from Bosnia and one from Vojvodina. But they do not know what we have in store for them. This could be greater Serbia's swansong. We have the details of the deployment. At one of the meetings between the federal and Croatian governments, we asked General Kadijevic and Ante Markovic to replace, as a matter of urgency, aggressive greater Serbian generals, to bring order into the Army, to reinstate all Croats and Slovenes sacked from the Army, and to restore the Yugoslav People's Army organizational structure so that in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Sarajevo the Army is under the command of Slovenes, Croats, and Muslims, in Skopje of Macedonians, in Kosovo of Albanians, and in Vojvodina and Serbia—Hungarians [as heard], and in Serbia—Serbs. Only in that case will we pay our regular dues for the Army to the federal budget and will not try

to destroy Yugoslavia overnight, but will see dissociation as the process of settling finances and preparing for an entry into Europe".

Council Proposes Forming of 'Crisis Staff'

LD1707224991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 17 (TANJUG)—The Supreme State Council of Croatia today said that republican President Franjo Tudjman "entrusted republican Vice Premier Franjo Greguric with the mandate to reconstruct the government."

The Council proposed the forming of a crisis staff for managing preparations for defense in the republic, the statement from the session said.

Republican Prime Minister Josip Manolic was named as one of the future members of the staff.

In the statement, the Council said the staff was necessary because of the "complex security situation" which "requires more efficient activities in crisis conditions."

In addition to the republican prime minister, the following have been proposed as future staff members: Defence Minister Sime Djodan, Interior Minister Onesin Cvitan, National Guard Commander Martin Spegelj, Deputy Interior Minister Slavko Degoricija, Minister for Immigration Gojko Susak, Civilian Protection Staff Commander Josip Slunjski, and advisors to the republican president Ranko Salaj and Zdravko Mustac.

The statement said that, in addition to a central republican staff, the forming of regional and municipal crisis staffs had also been proposed.

TANJUG Refutes Croatian Officials' Comments

LD1707183291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 July (TANJUG)—Croatian Vice Premier Bernardo Jurlina said in Zagreb today that "a news conference is being held in Belgrade about Serbian families' escape from Croatia." He added that this press conference "was organized by the TANJUG agency; thus this agency has obviously placed itself in the service of its taskmaster, Serbia."

Mr. Jurlina obviously does not know how to or does not want to make a distinction between the function of an agency and a press center. About 150 press conferences are being held annually in the International Press Center, when home and foreign journalists are addressed by ministers, party leaders, artists, businessmen, and others ranging from foreign statesmen to consumer councils. A few days ago SFRY President Stjepan Mesic himself held a press conference under the aegis of the International Press Center.

The Center is at Mr. Jurlina's disposal whenever he wishes, and on a topic of his choice. TANJUG will report on his press conference in the same way as it reported today on his press conference in Zagreb.

As far as "taskmasters" are concerned, TANJUG is guided only by facts and professionalism.

Slavonian Serb Group Supports Demobilization

LD1707155991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0910 GMT 16 Jul 91

[Excerpt] Borovo Selo, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—We are prepared to fully support the latest decisions of the SFRY Presidency to demobilize all armed units by 18 July except for the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units and peace-time police forces, today's statement of the Serbian National Council for Slovonia, Basranja, and West Srem, says. The Council adopted this decision, the statement says, despite the fact that the SFRY Presidency itself has not observed its previous decisions on disarming the paramilitary units.

In case this decision is also misused, and in order to prevent the Serbian people in the West of Croatia from being surprised as they were in 1941, in the most tragic sense, the headquarters of the Territorial Defense of Slavonia, Baranja, and West Srem will operate as a crisis headquarters until the expiry of the deadline for disarmament.

The Serbian people from this region are announcing through the National Council that 18 July is the last deadline that they will negotiate, the statement stresses. Immediately after the expiry of this deadline the National Council will make itself heard again.

The Serbian National Council has invited all the Serbs who have temporarily left their homes and who are capable of fighting to return to their villages and make themselves available to the Territorial Defense Headquarters. [passage omitted]

Serbian Refugees From Croatia Estimated at 40,000

LD1707210191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1848 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—The number of registered Serbian refugees from Croatia has risen to 19,100 so far. However, with those who have sought refuge with relatives and friends, their number is estimated at 40,000.

Such a large number of refugees is a result of a "state and party terrorism practiced against Serbs in Croatia, individually and collectively," premier of the province of Vojvodina Radoman Bozovic told a press conference in Belgrade today.

Refugees from Croatia are fleeing mostly to Vojvodina, Serbia's northern province bordering on Croatia.

In Croatia, "war is already being felt with all its consequences—dead and wounded civilians, broken families," said Bozovic.

Armed clashes between Croatian Interior Ministry forces and Serbs have been raging for days in parts of Croatia with a mixed or predominantly Serbian population.

All the Croatian police casualties have been in Serb-populated villages, which goes to show that the people there have been defending their hearths, it was heard at the press conference.

Croatian authorities have not been revealing the names of the policemen killed in the Serb-populated villages, which "leads to the conclusion that they were not citizens of Croatia," it was pointed out.

Serbian minister in charge of relations with Serbs outside Serbia Stanko Cvijan described as frightening the fact that in Croatia, the personal identification number of the citizen contains information on the person's nationality.

Cvijan went on to emphasize that Serbia would not build refugee camps. "We shall do everything for the return of the refuges to their homes, which is a precondition for the settling of the crisis in Yugoslavia," he said.

Interior Ministry Reports Fresh Fighting

LD1707163191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1425 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb/Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—A Croatian policeman was killed and a civilian was wounded this morning when fresh fighting broke out between members of the Croatian Interior Ministry and the Serbian militia in that Yugoslav republic.

Croatian Assistant Interior Minister Milan Brezak told the press today that the fighting broke out when Serbian militiamen opened heavy mortar fire at the police station in the central Croatian town of Lisani at 05:30 this morning.

The local church was demolished in the attack, he said.

The commander of the militia of the self-proclaimed Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, Milan Martic, has said in Knin that the fighting at Lisani was started by Croatian police. Martic said that a militiaman was lightly injured and the local church slightly damaged.

Croatian Vice Premier Bernaro Jurlina has said in Zagreb that there are 6,070 refugees in the territory of Croatia—5,825 Croats, 106 Serbs and 139 Hungarians.

The Red Cross of Serbia in Belgrade informs today that 19,200 refugees have been registered in the Republic of Serbia so far, mainly Serbs from Croatia.

The Yugoslav Federal Government today announced it had decided to form a mixed humanitarian commission to operate in the eastern Slavonia region, with a mixed Serbian and Croatian population. The commission should work in cooperation with Croatian authorities and municipal administrations.

These regions in eastern Croatia were last night the scene of sporadic fire from automatic weapons and mortars, TANJUG reporters inform.

The Yugoslav People's Army today announced it would provide protection for the collection and transportation of the harvest in Slavonia, if asked to do so.

Osijek Reported 'Relatively Calm' Overnight

LD1807084891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0655 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] Osijek, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—It was relatively calm in the Osijek municipality overnight.

In Osijek a cafe belonging to Serb Pavle Blazevic was blown up. There were no casualties but the material damage is great, the Osijek police authorities said. The explosion also damaged several surrounding houses and two parked cars.

In another explosion a house belonging to Serb Borislav Cubrilo was damaged. No casualties were reported.

The police authorities also reported that a police patrol came under fire from the direction of Bijelo Brdo overnight, but that there were no casualities. The Osijek garrison command has had no reports about gunfire near Bijelo Brdo, however.

Telephone lines between Osijek and Vukovar are out.

The normal news conference in the Osijek Municipal Headquarters will not be held this morning and the Osijek garrison has also cancelled its news conference. Both the Army and the municipal authorities consider the situation calmer and therefore see no need for news conferences.

'Terrorists' Attack Hrvatska Kostajnica, Kozibro

LD1807081691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] At about 0700 this morning near Hrvatska Kostajnica [southeast of Zagreb], terrorists carried out a mortar attack from the direction of the village of Cukura on the positions of the police and the National Guard in the town. The latter offered strong resistance against the attackers.

During the morning terrorists also attacked the positions of the [Croatian] Internal Affairs Ministry and the National Guard in the vicinity of the police station in Kozibrod in the Dvor-na-Uni municipality. The police and the National Guard forces are putting up strong resistance.

It is not known if any of the police or National Guard members have been hurt in the terrorist attacks on [Hrvatska] Kostajnica and Kozibrod.

Serbia

Chamber Finds Economic 'Therapy' Requires Credit

LD1707205491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1759 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Chamber of the Economy of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia assessed at today's session, as announced, that the "'shock therapy' of the Federal government will not yield the expected results if Yugoslavia is not granted a foreign credit of about three billion dollars.

"Worst of all is that the new Yugoslav Government measures will not arrest the further drop of industrial production in the country," the statement said.

It was assessed at the session that the Federal government's "therapy" would raise even further the insolvency of both the economy and banks and that these measures set conditions for the functioning of free hard currency markets in the Yugoslav republics also.

"This practically means that the Yugoslav republics can from now on create their own hard currency reserves, about which Serbia's economy should especially take care," it was concluded at the session.

The international financial community is to grant a total of about three billion dollars' worth of credits to Yugoslavia this year, but only provided the crisis in the country is settled. These credits would be granted to the Yugoslav Government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic, whose reforms are thus given support.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Bosnia Seeks Explanation of Tudjman Statement

LD1707195391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1217 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—The government of Bosnia-Hercegovina has requested that the Republic of Croatia give an official explanation concerning the statement of President Franjo Tudjman for THE TIMES—that the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina is the best solution to the Yugoslav crisis—Muhamed Cengic, vice president of the Party for Democratic Action [SDA], told journalists at a press conference today. Together with the other SDA vice president, Salim Sabic, Cengic once again confirmed this pa. .y's stand that the entity of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be defended by all available means. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Prime Minister Meets With Party Leaders

LD1707203591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Skopje, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Kljusev had a first meeting with chairmen and secretaries of political parties in Skopje today. This is the beginning of a series of meetings with the leaders of political parties in the republic, the Macedonian Ministry of Information says in a statement.

Speaking about the security situation in Macedonia and Yugoslavia, Nikola Kljusev said that in Macedonia "at some recent meetings there have been calls for the formation of volunteer units, and attempts have been made to set up paramilitary formations." The statement says that persons who had been infiltrated from Kosovo have been noticed, and that there have been cases of arms smuggling; there is even a declaration in the Albanian language circulating among ethnic Albanian population calling for the formation of some "Republic of Kosovo."

Prime Minister Kljusev stressed that the Macedonian Government will not tolerate activities by political parties which are not in accordance with their political programs which were presented when the parties were registered. The government will spare no effort to prevent all kinds of "lebanization" of Macedonia and will be striving to secure the observance of political pluralism and democratic principles for the peaceful settlement of current problems, the statement says in conclusion.

Comments on Paramilitary Forces

LD1707211291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1824 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Skopje, July 17 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Nikola Kljusev said today the republican government would not tolerate the activities of political parties which were out of step with their programmes.

At a meeting with high officials of several parties in the republican capital Skopje today, Kljusev said the creation of volunteer units was being sought in the Republic and attempts being made to form paramilitary forces.

An announcement issued after the meeting said that the presence of 'emissaries' from the Province of Kosovo had been recorded in Macedonia, that an Albanian-language declaration calling for the creation of a 'Republic of Kosovo' was circulating in Macedonia and that firearms were being smuggled into the Republic.

The announcement also said the Macedonian government would not spare efforts to prevent any sort of 'Lebanonization' of Macedonia and was committed to democratic principles and the peaceful settlement of problems.